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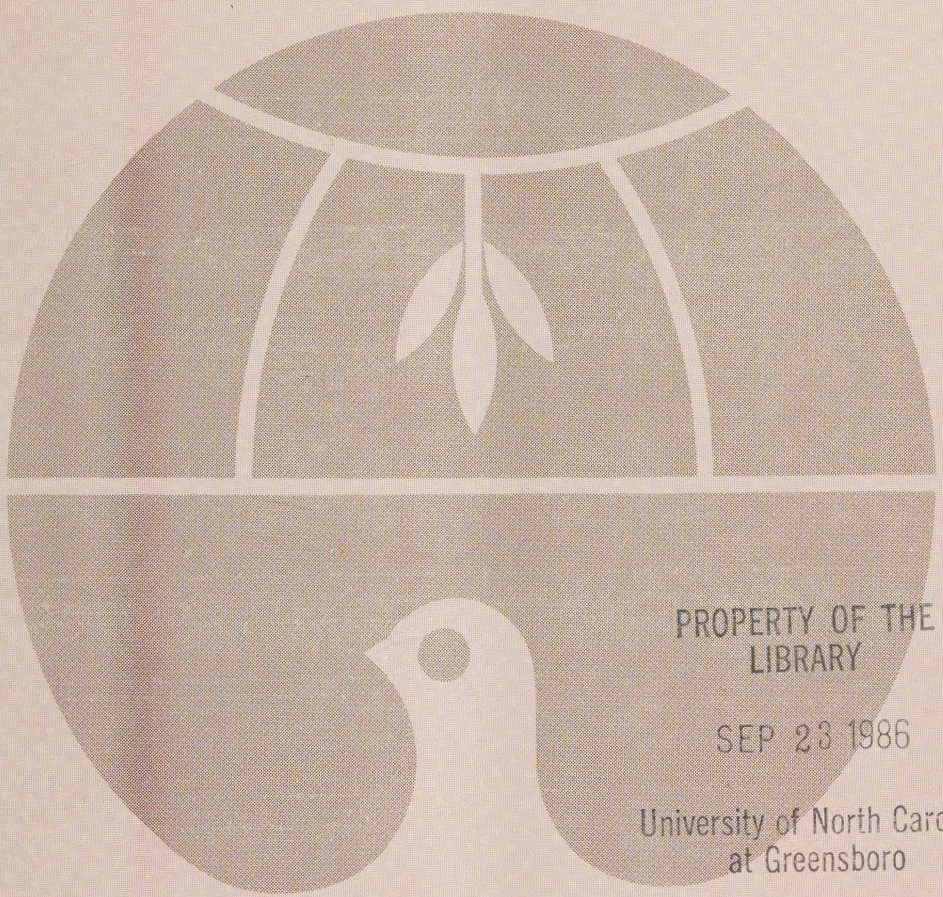
NEW TIMES



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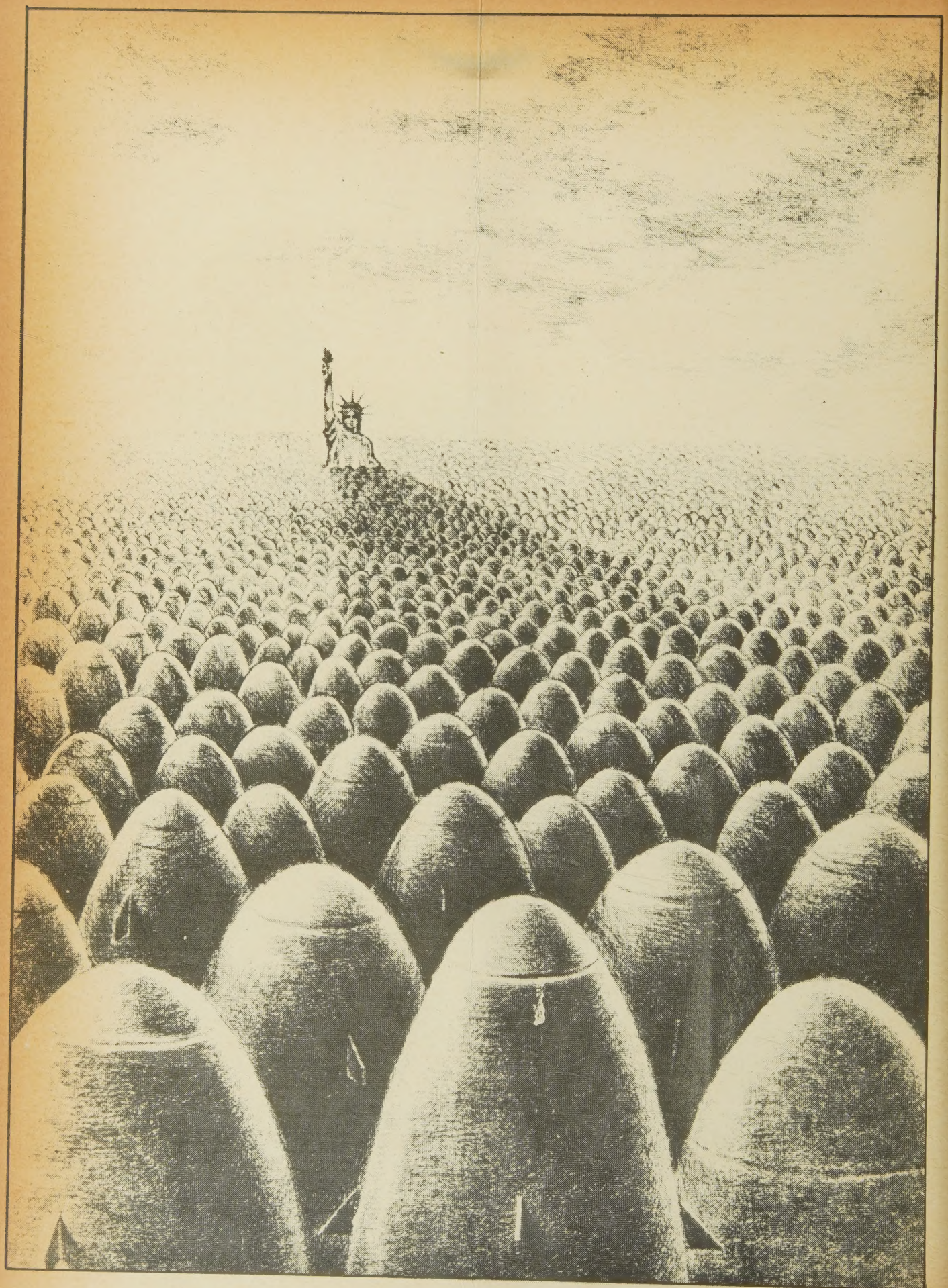
IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, SAVING THE EARTH FROM ATOMIC ANNIHILATION IS A UNIVERSAL TASK, THE CAUSE OF ALL PEOPLES.

M. S. GORBACHEV



TRAGIC SYMBOL

The Russian painter Vasily Vereshchagin saw the apotheosis of the wars of last century in a giant heap of human skulls pecked clean by carrion crows. On the facing page a modern artist gives his variation on the theme: the Statue of Liberty all but buried in a myriad of nuclear warheads, each with a yield greater than the destructive power of all the explosions of the past century. Set off simultaneously, these steel monsters could destroy all life on earth. There would be no one left to paint the apotheosis of thermonuclear war.

But why the Statue of Liberty? After all, the U.S. is not the only country with nuclear arsenals. True, but let us not forget who first developed the atom bomb, who first used it, who plunged the world into an insane arms race, who has associated with that race claims to world leadership and the dream of deciding the outcome of the historical contest of the two social systems by force. This absurd hope is still cherished. Not long ago Richard Pipes, a member of the U.S. National Security Council, urged the U.S. leaders to present an ultimatum to our country: either change the Soviet system as the West wishes or face a thermonuclear war.

True, since then a different note has been struck. In Geneva last autumn the U.S. President joined in declaring that nuclear war -- indeed, war of any kind -- between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. must be ruled out, and that in a nuclear conflict there can be no winner. It would seem that it was conceded that the nuclear age had put an end to fist law. That political thinking must at long last be brought into conformity with political realities. But has anything actually changed? Is the U.S. not continuing to pile up new weaponry? Has it given up the idea of carrying the arms race into outer space? Regrettably, Washington has not discarded its first, preemptive strike strategy. As before, the nuclear fanatics harbour the illusion of being able to gain the upper hand in the deadly race and to deliver a first strike with impunity.

Mikhail Gorbachev's August 18 statement notes that in the U.S. the new thinking prompted by realities of the nuclear-missile age is impeded by the right-wing militarist elements' obsession with the arms buildup. Hence the stubborn unwillingness to seek reasonable compromise, to take the hand extended by the Soviet Union, to act not from positions of strength but from the positions of reason. Blind faith in the omnipotence of the superweapon continues to dim the minds of the nuclear maniacs. And so long as this is the case, the Statue of Liberty sinking into a sea of nuclear warheads will remain a tragic symbol of militarist madness.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

We, veterans of the Great Patriotic War are ready to affix our signatures to every line of Mikhail Gorbachev's statement of August 18. We know about war not by hearsay; we have seen its horrors with our own eyes. We can imagine how disastrous would be the consequences of a nuclear conflict. It must not be allowed to happen. But Washington remains deaf to the peace initiatives of our country. How long can it go on ignoring the dictates of the time? For the world is drifting towards a nuclear catastrophe.

A. LEVCHENKO
Bukhara Region, U.S.S.R.

I quite agree with your reader Herbert Knoll [Mailbag, NT No. 24, 1986] that many people in our country are indifferent to the aggressive policy of NATO. Moreover some actually approve of it. At the same time the media do their utmost to prevent the public from learning about the consistent policy of the U.S.S.R. Even though the Soviet Union is not openly attacked, there is more than enough disinformation. This was evident from the media treatment of the tragic accident in Chernobyl. Their reaction was overtly hostile.

LEO LAHERSTORFER
Vienna, Austria

A year ago I was given the opportunity to visit your country as an Australian delegate to the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow. The festival was a resounding success, re-emphasizing the aspiration of young people worldwide for peace and justice. I should like to wish your country success in carrying out the policies set forth by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party.

ANDREW PIPERIDES
Canterbury, Australia

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

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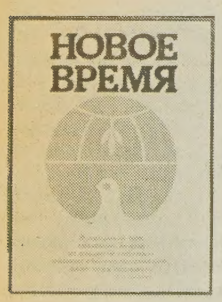

Cover by N. Shcherbakov. Inside front cover by I. Smirnov.

STORM CLOUDS OVER LIBYA

Just as in April this year, when the above photo was taken, U.S. Sixth Fleet ships, submarines and fighter-bombers are again poised against Libya. The White House is fabricating pretexts for aggression to "punish" that independent country. The stratagem has also another purpose—to divert the attention of the world community away from the United States' obstructionist position on the crucial problem of ending nuclear tests.

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NEONAZIS WITHOUT THE SWASTIKA

This is how the right-extremist group, a member of which was detained on suspicion of complicity in the assassination of Olof Palme, has been described. It turns out that this group does not operate only in Sweden. Leaflets like the one shown here are also circulated by the neonazis without the swastika in the F.R.G., for instance. The group has its centre in the United States. For the results of a New Times inquiry into its activities see

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CHILEANS CHALLENGE THE TYRANNY

For 13 years, since the bloody military coup of September 11, 1973, Chile has been under the heel of the Pinochet junta. The general is bent on perpetuating his regime. But today 9 out of every 10 Chileans belong to the anti-dictatorship coalition. The U.S. still hopes to "bring order" to Chile and Pinochet still has many loyal henchmen. Nevertheless, he is prudently casting about for a sanctuary in Paraguay or South Africa....

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Anti-war demonstration in Moscow.
TASS photo

The moratorium—a step towards a nuclear-free world

Moscow appeals to common sense

The Age of Wars Is Past

VALENTIN FALIN

Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan agreed in Geneva last November that practical steps should be taken to improve Soviet-American relations as part of the process of improving the overall world situation. The parties pledged to concentrate their efforts on preventing an arms race in outer space and ending the arms race on earth. The idea was that the summit meeting the sides planned and are still planning for 1986 would sum up these joint and unilateral efforts and consolidate their results to make for fresh progress.

Travelling in the Soviet Far East, Mikhail Gorbachev noted in one of his speeches that the understanding between the President and himself was not to meet at all events, regardless of the situation and of what the two sides were doing jointly or unilaterally. We do not need a summit for the sake of a summit, just to fan the wind. The peoples expect from the leaders actions, not words.

If they seek concrete measures, the states are naturally expected to concentrate on problems which lend themselves to practical solutions. One such problem, comparatively easy to resolve technologically and politically, is the ending of nuclear weapon tests. It is simple because the Soviet Union has been refraining from nuclear tests for more than a year now and because the only thing needed to settle the matter is good will on the part of the United States. Regrettably, Washington has declined every Soviet offer—and there have been several—on formalizing a nuclear test ban. To all appearances, the Soviet drafts and proposals have not even been seriously considered.

Meanwhile, continued nuclear testing (or a test ban) is the answer to the question of what the two powers plan for the future. Do they want to escalate preparations for war or are they going to reverse them, work for the deliverance of mankind from nuclear weapons and endeavour to create stable and more humane conditions for the international community? This, in fact, is the key question about which there should be absolute clarity. Innuendo and prevarication in the matter of survival are intolerable and inadmissible.

Washington's refusal to stop testing nuclear weapons does not tally with its declarations that it is desirable "eventually" to have these weapons banned and taken out of the arsenals of all countries. Yet the practical American course of developing new systems and types of nuclear weapon is entirely compatible with U.S. attempts to wreck the entire arms control system developed with so much effort in the 1960s and 1970s. The refusal to join the Soviet moratorium, the subversion of the ABM Treaty, the continuing tests in Nevada and the avowed intention no longer to comply with the SALT-1 and SALT-2 accords are all falling into a pattern.

Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, spelled out the reasons for which the Americans decided not to ratify the SALT-2 Treaty. The ratification of the treaty, according to him, would have meant that the principles which underlay the process of the limitation of strategic offensive arms would have been carried into the 1980s and become binding on the U.S.—and the current Administration could not have lived with such a situation.

So it is principles that Washington is unhappy about, especially the principle of equality and equal security. The United States does not consider security to be an asset common to all states but wants for itself a special, custom-built security which disregards the interests and vital needs of others. The Americans even threaten other countries that if they do not agree to it, the U.S. will claim it by force.

The concept of force should not be simplified and reduced to weapons in firing positions: the persistent U.S. attempts to involve the Soviet Union in a competition in the development of ever newer weapons systems, which are becoming increasingly costly, are also a form of warfare. The Americans once called it the "cold" war, although the philosophy behind it was little different from that of a "shooting" war. In 1947, when Washington had even less regard than today for public opinion and its own allies, the goal was formulated to increase dramatically the external burden on the U.S.S.R. with a view to destroying or eventually eroding the Soviet type of government. Today something reminiscent of that insane idea is called the Strategic Defence Initiative.

To all appearances, the lesson of the cold war and the "painful revision" of policy in the 1960s and 1970s has been lost on Washington.

Adults are sometimes victim to infantile diseases and such ailments have very dangerous effects. But will mankind have to wait for them to recover? If the neoglobalists were isolated from the rest of the world, they could be left to their own devices. But the U.S. Administration is not going to fight itself or go in for shadowboxing: the plan is to put space strike stations into orbit over other countries. This is equivalent to the de facto establishment before the second world war of a continuous air patrol system over the key military targets of a "potential enemy." At that time no one would have tolerated it and today, in the nuclear age, the idea is not likely to be accepted by anyone in his right mind.

So it is to the common sense, instinct for survival, dignity and ordinary human notions of morality of Americans, West Europeans and other people the world over that we appeal.

It was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress that the Soviet Union does not see international relations uniquely in terms of Soviet-American relations. The international community consists of almost 160 nations, each with its specific interests, traditions and characteristics. However, the world is so small and interrelated that the contribution of every state and region to security and lessening the threat of war is extremely important and desirable.

The ebb and flow of Soviet-American relations directly affect many countries, if only because American first-strike weapons are deployed in Western Europe and Asia, and American bases form a dense web in the Old and New World alike. Hence, the efforts to make weapons even deadlier and more sophisticated, which is the purpose of continued nuclear testing, affect the whole world community. New, more efficient weapons detract immediately from world security—and this adverse process is being exacerbated.

Military technology cannot be allowed to decide the future of humanity, even if this is what the powerful and influential Western military-industrial complex would like. Even today, in view of the flight time of the American first-strike missiles to target, the world is living within 6 minutes of catastrophe. It is the duty of political leaders to avert the countdown, to break the vicious circle of the arms race and make the powers that be realize that the age of wars among nations is over. The fate of our civilization is inseparably bound to continued, lasting peace now and for all time, whatever the good or evil human genius may come up with. ■

Washington's offensive against existing agreements

The Bulldozer Syndrome

Academician GEORGI ARBATOV

The world is facing a historic choice. Whether we cut back on armaments and achieve genuine security, which today are virtually synonymous concepts, or embark upon a runaway arms race and nuclear chaos, depends on decisions to be taken very shortly.

It will be tragic if everything ends in catastrophe because of delusion and ignorance, and our inability to explain things to each other.

I say this because in the U.S. and some other Western countries nowadays reports on Soviet policy are heavily slanted and viciously distorted by both governments and the mass media. Indeed, the latest Soviet proposals have been shrouded in what can justly be called a conspiracy of silence.

As far as we can see, the U.S. Administration is attempting to impose severe constraints on the mass media. Their support or at least tacit acceptance of the Administration's line is a kind of loyalty test. They are told to play down certain stories, otherwise they will be accused of un-American behaviour. That often works. But if it does not, direct interference is employed. NBC television had planned an interesting series of programmes and dialogues, to which prominent personalities in the U.S. and U.S.S.R., foreign ministers, defence ministers, chiefs of general staffs, even political leaders, were to be invited. The U.S. Administration said no, and NBC had to apologize to the Soviet State Committee on Radio and Television. The entire idea was abandoned.

Attempts are made to conceal the Soviet proposals from the public at large. In the U.S., where security and foreign policy are concerned, the mass media are starved of information, which prevents them from saying anything coherent. Otherwise they would not be so avid to grasp every word from Mr Larry Speakes, as if at his innumerable briefings he offered fresh juicy steaks instead of repeatedly chewed bare bones.

All this inevitably comes to mind when one analyzes the U.S. attitude to the latest Soviet bids. It is now becoming increasingly clear that the stoppage of nuclear explosions is not a secondary measure, a mere political gesture, or even a symbol of good will. It is a major, highly significant practical step towards ending the nuclear arms race and eliminating the nuclear threat. Today's nuclear tests are quite unrelated to the effort to deter war or "likely aggression," as it is termed, the excuse constantly being offered to vindicate them. So much nuclear weaponry, tested long ago, has been stockpiled that even if we were to reduce it to half, a third, a quarter even, a fifth, there would still be more than enough to act as a deterrent. Actually, today's tests are being held to devise weapons whose purpose is to wage and win a nuclear war in spite of all the verbal and written declarations to the contrary. Incidentally, the U.S. President signed the last such declaration at the Geneva summit; in it he said he agreed that a nuclear war could not be fought, nor could it be won.

Due to the Washington Administration's line, Soviet-U.S. relations, far from getting better, continue to deteriorate dangerously in such basics as the arms race, regional conflicts, the U.S. stance on the international scene and even the rhetoric we hear from the U.S. Then, with the General Assembly about to start, there are plans to expel staff members at the Soviet U.N. mission from the U.S. What on earth can the U.S. hope for—it has scheduled the next Soviet-U.S. summit for November-December—if it says openly that it is going to torpedo SALT-2? In its view, this summit should come a fortnight after or just before this strike at the entire structure of bilateral treaty relationships. How does Washington see all this?

The impression is that the White House is desperately trying not to keep to what was agreed at Geneva, but to destroy as much as possible as quickly as possible before 1988 arrives, so that the current Administration's successors will find it almost impossible to start mending fences. They are undermining SALT and the ABM treaty. A real bulldozer syndrome. The U.S. wants to shed all cramping treaty restrictions. It finds international law and international agencies intolerable. In this connection, let me remind you that it is committed, more specifically, under two agreements not only to negotiate a complete ban on nuclear testing, but also to seek the complete stoppage of nuclear tests. In the U.S., the Senate and the House have adopted resolutions on this, while, according to opinion polls, 80 per cent of respondents support the idea. But, alas, nothing affects the Administration.

An offensive has been mounted against the entire regime of even the modest arms race curbs created by the treaties that are currently in force. Efforts are being made to torpedo even the possibility of further negotiation. We say this not at all because we are afraid of what the U.S. might do. Even in the U.S. many realize that withdrawal from SALT-2 will impair U.S. interests more than Soviet interests. The basic restrictions this treaty imposed on the U.S. were set out in a two-year protocol that has long expired. As for the restrictions imposed on the U.S.S.R., they are incorporated within the treaty per se and are observed. The immediate outcome will be that the U.S.S.R. will find itself in a position to augment its strategic forces rapidly and at negligible cost. What price that for the U.S.?

But our basic concern is with the political consequences. How does one express a desire to reduce nuclear armament by suggesting that we start by dismantling even those modest restrictions already introduced? This will unquestionably complicate Soviet-U.S. dialogue and the meetings planned.

Yet in the U.S. we see a growing tendency to present matters as if all basic issues relating to a new Soviet-U.S. summit have already been resolved. The same Larry Speakes suggests that if the summit takes place it will be a good thing, but that if it doesn't, there'll be nothing to cry about either.

That is a palpable attempt to supplant the number one issue of the Geneva agreement—that both countries should commit themselves to take steps to normalize bilateral relations, ameliorate the international situation, and expedite the process of arms limitation talks—with the issue of another meeting. The question of the end is being replaced by the question of the means.

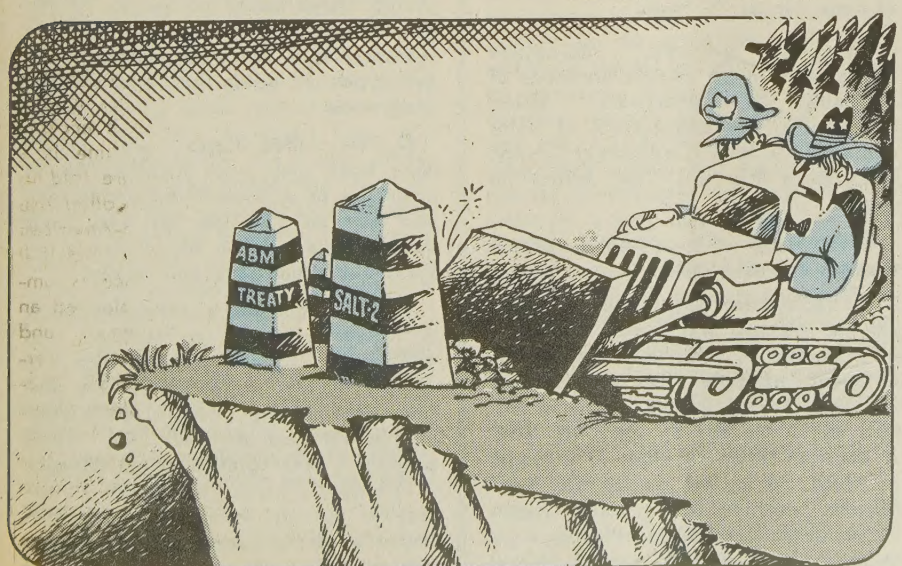
As regards a new summit, the two definitive points put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev are still valid. One is the political atmosphere, the other productiveness. These are all that matter.

In politics, it very often happens that action comes when it is impossible to remain inactive any longer. For this reason a most persistent effort must be made to edge forward. So far the Americans have not agreed to stop nuclear tests. I believe the U.S. will change its stance but this will only be when it has dawned upon its leaders that they cannot do otherwise, that they have to modify their approach as the situation evolving both domestically and internationally makes it inevitable.

Is this possible? Let me reply to this with two further questions: is it possible to continue indefinitely with the policy the U.S. is now pursuing without running the risk of blowing itself up along with all the rest of us? And will the world community and the Americans themselves allow it to do so?

■

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov



Seismologists on a nuclear test ban

"Feasible and Verifiable"

Professor MIKHAIL GOKHBERG

Interview with Professor Mikhail Gokhberg, D. Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), acting director of the O. Y. Shmidt Institute of Earth Physics of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and one of the organizers of the Soviet-American nuclear test ban verification experiment.

Q. It is often claimed in the West that underground nuclear tests are "clean," that is, virtually harmless. Is it true?

A. Nuclear explosions have never been harmless. The American tests at Bikini Atoll, for instance, caused radioactive fallout over an area of hundreds of kilometres. Other Micronesian atolls where the United States have tested nuclear weapons are uninhabitable even today because of high radiation levels.

The Soviet Union appealed to all the nuclear powers as far back as 1955 with the proposal to end nuclear testing. We unilaterally halted our nuclear tests in 1958 and urged the U.S. and Britain to follow suit. Our moratorium lasted about six months but the Western powers did not reciprocate; if anything, they went ahead with their nuclear test programmes even more intensively.

The Soviet Union's efforts eventually played the decisive role in the conclusion in 1963 of the Moscow Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water. Some progress towards the ultimate goal of banning nuclear explosions in all media was made in 1974, when the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. signed a treaty imposing a 150-kiloton ceiling on underground nuclear tests. Regrettably, the treaty has not yet been ratified because of the U.S. stand.

As for your question, underground tests seem less dangerous—but only at first glance.

Q. How are underground explosions conducted?

A. Usually in special holes or tunnels, where explosive devices are placed. The depth of the hole (200 to 600 metres, according to American data) is calculated to prevent radioactivity being released into the atmosphere. A certain correlation between the yield of the charge and the depth at which it is placed has to be observed. If this is done, there should be no radioactive substances released—but only theoretically.

Actually, when the device goes off, the immediate environment is destroyed. A large cavity is formed and there appear cracks in the rock. A large patch of the surface above the explosion swells and fissures are formed. This is very dangerous. If the yield of the device and the depth of the hole have been calculated erroneously and if the rock structure differs from what has been expected—and there is always such a risk—radioactivity may escape into the atmosphere. Also, the more tests are conducted, the higher the overall radioactive contamination of the soil and therefore of the subterranean water. The incidence of cancer of the thyroid in southwest Utah, which borders on Nevada, is 8 times the national average and the incidence of bone cancer, 12 times.

Generally speaking, radioactive substances can be carried hundreds of kilometres by subterranean water. Furthermore, the construction of holes and silos for tests is extremely costly. Then, there may still be errors in design.

Q. What are the possible consequences of such errors?

A. Radioactive gases and particles can be released and carried thousands of kilometres by adverse winds. Here is a recent example: an underground test code-named Mighty Oak was carried out in Nevada on April 10, 1986. A partition failed to close in a tunnel in which the nuclear device had been placed and it filled with radioactive substances. When attempts were made to blow out the tunnel, several releases of radioactive material occurred and radioactivity levels rose dramatically in the parts of Nevada around the tests site. American peace activists staged protest demonstrations in the vicinity of the site.

About a year ago two American scientists died in Nevada: they went out to investigate the hole 50 minutes after the blast but the ground at the site caved in and a deadly release of radioactivity occurred.

Q. So a moratorium and an eventual total nuclear test ban would help avoid many risks to mankind?

A. They certainly would. But the risks are not confined to possible releases of radioactivity. Tests are a precondition for improvements in nuclear weaponry, the sinister shadow of the nuclear arms race, as it were. The

Soviet and American seismologists during an experiment in the Semipalatinsk area.

United States makes no secret of the fact, for instance, that it is going on with testing to develop weapons of new types, including those for the SDI programme.

Q. The United States and Britain have more than once declined Soviet proposals on a nuclear test moratorium and talks on a nuclear test ban. Their main argument is that such a ban is unverifiable. What have you to say?

A. This argument is absolutely false. A nuclear test ban is feasible and verifiable. Today's technology to monitor nuclear explosions is very sensitive. Monitoring stations established at different sites all over the world provide a clear picture of all changes in the earth's crust. The site of an explosion can be determined to within fractions of the geographical degree and its yield with an error factor of

under 15 per cent. The problem of detecting nuclear blasts, scientifically speaking, is nonexistent today. It has been resolved, as every seismologist knows.

I shall elucidate. When a nuclear device is exploded, part of its yield sends tremors—seismic waves—through the mass of rock. The spectrum of these waves is substantially different from those caused by an earthquake. Scientists have developed special algorithms which incorporate mathematical screening methods, and they make it easy to identify seismic waves caused by nuclear tests.

Q. The Western press is talking a good deal about "concealment measures" that allegedly make it possible to hide a nuclear blast. What are they?

A. In theory, there are several ways of hiding nuclear tests—but only in theory. Their practical efficiency is a different matter.

One method is to stage a test against the background of an earthquake. Specialists realize, however, that this is an illusion. The earth is a huge mass and if a nuclear device is exploded during an earthquake, some monitors will indeed get a mixed signal. But monitoring stations at other sites are bound to record the difference because the signal from the nuclear blast will reach the instruments at one time and the shock wave from an earthquake at another. Moreover, we are as yet unable to forecast earthquakes with sufficient accuracy. So what are we to do, sit waiting for an earthquake to strike before detonating our nuclear device?

Another way is to stage a test against the background of a powerful conventional explosion, such as those used in industry. But this would take thousands of tons of TNT. Is it feasible? Hardly.

Lastly, it is possible to stage a nuclear blast of a smaller yield in a cavity formed by an earlier high-yield underground test. This is more or less feasible theoretically, but if new, potent weapons are to be tested, this "method" has no practical value. Existing weapon stocks cannot be tested in this way either. And the excavation of such a cavity with conventional technology is pure science fiction.

To sum up, the "concealment measures" are ineffective. And if a mutual verification system is established in the territories of the parties to a nuclear test ban, the possibility of concealing nuclear explosions will be completely ruled out.

Q. Is this the goal of the Soviet-American project involving the establishment of seismic stations in the territories of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.?

A. Quite so. I have already described in your magazine the Soviet-American experiment near Semipalatinsk. It demonstrated to all the sceptics that the technology available to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. makes the efficient monitoring of a nuclear test ban completely feasible.

Q. What were your personal impressions of the experiment?

A. Well, it is still in progress. One station was set up near Semipalatinsk, another is about to be opened and a third will shortly be established. Instruments have been installed on the surface for the time being but in the second phase of the experiment highly sensitive devices will be lowered into a hole. Similar experiments will be carried out in Nevada, where stations staffed by mixed U.S.-Soviet teams are going to be set up.

We were very pleased at the fact that we immediately found a common language with our American colleagues. Just as we do, they understand perfectly that the experiment, in addition to being very important politically, is yielding much valuable scientific data. Listening to the voice of the Earth, we can learn far more about its properties.

Q. Who exactly are you working with?

A. The Natural Resources Defence Council, a nongovernment, private organization. The programme is headed by Dr Thomas Cochran.

Q. How is your cooperation shaping up?

A. The American seismologists are our long-standing friends. After the first phase of the experiment was over, James Brune, a leading expert on seismic phenomena, gave a lecture at our institute on the organization of seismological studies in California. We have an agreement on scientific exchanges between the U.S. seismological service and the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Control of the Natural Environment, and up to 30 scientists a year take part in them. Americans are happy to work with our comprehensive seismological expedition at a Soviet research site in Garm near Dushanbe, where a complex of geophysical methods, rather than just seismic ones, for forecasting earthquakes are being studied. Our scientists go to work at Menlo Park in California and the Boulder geophysical research centre in Colorado.

But I have strayed from our subject. The first seismic reading was obtained just three days after the American scientists arrived at the site near Semipalatinsk. Moscow was playing host to the Goodwill Games at the time and in the afternoon a game of volleyball was played between the Soviet and American teams of seismologists at the Semipalatinsk station, set up on the shore of a beautiful lake in a forest. The first seismic recording of natural earth noises was demonstrated to an international scientific forum on nuclear testing in Moscow. All the participants in the experiment put their signatures to that historic document and a copy of it will be handed over to the Central Lenin Museum.

The American members of the team, incidentally, were amazed at having been admitted to an area so close to a Soviet nuclear testing site. They were also moved by the hospitality and good will of their Soviet colleagues.

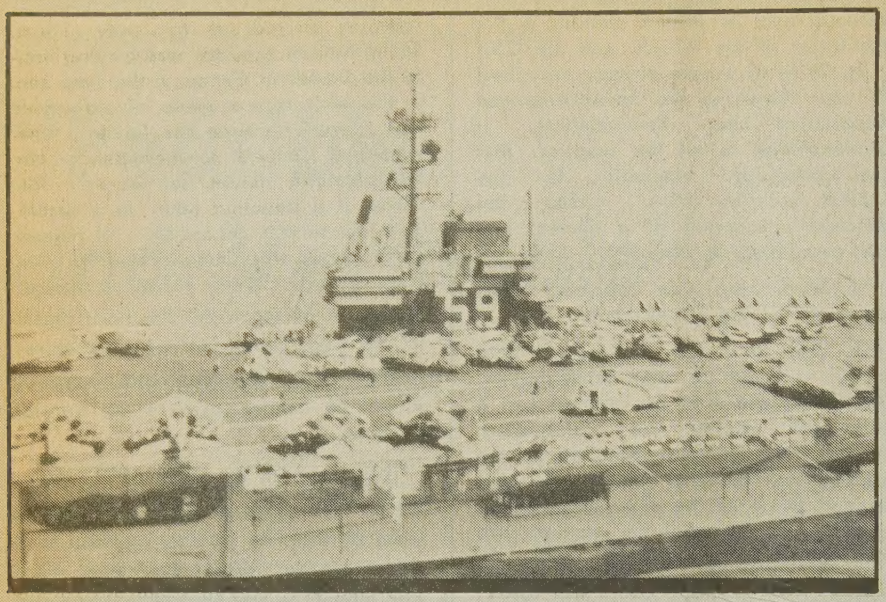
Q. You mentioned that on July 18 the Semipalatinsk station recorded a nuclear test in Nevada.

A. Yes, it did. Geophysical instruments record all the data in digital form on a magnetic tape subsequently decoded by computer. But seismologists are used to having a visual record, so the instruments have a special device for the purpose. The Americans' is quite simple: a roll of smoked paper on which a continuous line is drawn with a steel stylus. When the Nevada explosion went off, the straight line on the paper, reflecting quiet at the Soviet testing site, was broken by a sharp peak of a particular shape. It was symbolic in a way: American seismologists recording in Soviet territory a nuclear weapon test in the far-off U.S.A.

Seismologist Paul Bodin said at the time that as an engineer he was happy with the perfect functioning of the equipment but as a citizen sad to "hear" an explosion detonated in the United States. He added that he would like the Soviet scientists who were to go to American seismic stations to listen in Nevada to the same quiet as that recorded at the Soviet site.

We share with our American colleague the hope that the time will come when the symptomatic curve of the seismograph recording a nuclear explosion will have been consigned to history.

Interview by B. BALKAREI



The aircraft carrier Forrestal, which took part in the recent American-Egyptian exercises, "patrolling" off the coast of Libya. Its planes are all set to strike at targets in Libya already selected by the Pentagon.

AP-TASS photo

New Threat to Libya

● SLANDER AT WHITE HOUSE BIDDING ● THE PENTAGON PLANS ATTACK ● VERNON WALTERS' "SECRET" MISSION ● SOLIDARITY WITH THE LIBYAN PEOPLE

"From now on Gaddafi will not have a moment's respite," the journal Jeune Afrique quoted a high-ranking U.S. Administration spokesman as saying after ships of the U.S. 6th Fleet attacked Libyan patrol boats in the Gulf of Sidra and air defence posts on Libyan territory in March this year. And in April U.S. air force planes bombed Tripoli and Benghazi, Libya's biggest cities. Washington followed this by continuing to exert political and economic pressure on Libya and escalate its vicious slander campaign against that country. It is out to involve in it also the United States' NATO allies.

The machine of U.S. state terrorism, which seemed to have slowed down in the summer months, is now being set in motion with new force. Why this is being done at this particular time is nobody's secret. The wide support given by world public opinion, including the U.S. public, to the Soviet peace initiatives, and above all to the prolongation of the moratorium on nuclear tests, has placed the White House in a difficult position. Hence, Washington has chosen the lesser of two "evils" and is trying to divert the attention of world opinion from the U.S. Administration's negative attitude to the paramount problem of the time to the "secondary" problem of American-Libyan relations.

The U.S. strategists have not even bothered to work out a new scenario for their wide-scale anti-Libyan provocations. All the shopworn fabrications about "Libyan terrorism" and Gaddafi's "anti-American conspiracies" are again being trotted out. Citing "Administration sources," the White House correspondent of the CBS television network said that Gaddafi was planning terrorist acts against U.S. nationals in Europe and had started a "campaign to recruit terrorists," with the U.S. ambassador to the F.R.G. as a potential victim. The U.S. press has carried "warnings" that Libyan-organized terrorist acts could occur at any moment in the F.R.G. and Greece. Citing "intelligence sources," the Wall Street Journal accused Libya of having been behind the missile attack on a British military base in Cyprus.

The CIA has also joined in circulating "data" supposedly proving that the Libyan leadership is in a crisis and could be toppled at any moment. Hence, it is said, the time is ripe to prod developments in a direction advantageous to the U.S.

A U.S. Administration spokesman declared with the bluntness of a professional bouncer that it is high time to give Gaddafi another "punch on the jaw." In keeping with this line of reasoning, NBC television reports that there is already a plan for another attack on Libya.

According to the London Daily Telegraph, this time Tomahawk cruise missiles are to be used instead of air force planes. The paper also cites unconfirmed reports that immediately after the April air raid the U.S. compiled special relief maps of the southern and eastern coast of the Mediterranean for use in targeting cruise missiles.

Tension is continuing to be whipped up around Libya, not only in the press, but in practice, so to speak. The Pentagon has transferred to American bases in Britain another 18 F-111 bombers. This type of plane was used for the brigand raids on Tripoli and Benghazi in April. The aircraft carrier Forrestal and the U.S. 6th Fleet ships escorting it, which took part in the U.S.-Egyptian Sea Wind exercise, have been ordered into the area off the Libyan coast. A veritable armada of U.S. warships is being concentrated there. It is to include, besides the Forrestal, the air-

"The Soviet Union, true to its policy of solidarity with countries that have won their freedom, firmly supports the just struggle of the Libyan Jamahiriya for social and economic progress and its right to independent development.... Soviet-Libyan friendship and multiform cooperation, which have stood the test of time, will be developed further in the interests of the peoples of our two countries and the strengthening of world peace and security."

From a message of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet to Muamar al-Gaddafi on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Libyan revolution

This picture was taken in April this year in Tripoli after bombs and missiles were dropped on the city by U.S. planes. Entire streets were reduced to ruins.

Reuter-TASS photo

craft carriers America and John Kennedy (the latter is being rushed to the Mediterranean across the Atlantic).

By building up tension in the Mediterranean and escalating the threat to Libya, Washington, in the opinion of observers, is exerting open political pressure also on its European NATO allies to secure the tightening of political and economic sanctions against Libya. This was the object also of U.S. United Nations Ambassador Vernon Walters' "secret mission" to Western Europe. It is in place to recall that last April he toured a number of West European countries to involve them in the United States' anti-Libyan actions. At that time he was successful in Britain, where he obtained the Thatcher government's consent to the use of the U.S. air bases in that country for the raids against Libyan cities.

Other NATO allies of the United States, though they did take some action detrimental to the interests of Libya under Washington pressure, did not follow in the wake of U.S. militaristic policy. They actually urged the White House to display "moderation and restraint." This time, the French Libération writes, Walters' assignment is to blackmail America's West European partners, all the way to declaring that, if the latter refuse to pursue Washington-dictated policy against Libya, the U.S. has no alternative but to take "repeated military action." In other words, as an American newspaper commented, Washington is out to involve its West European partners in "tightening the screws" on Libya.

However, the Libyan people, as hitherto, stand firm in this explosive situation. Moreover, they are not alone in the struggle to foil the imperialist conspiracy. In late August, at the height of the American-Egyptian military manoeuvres in the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union was visited by a delegation of the General People's Congress of Libya, headed by its assistant secretary Abdul Razik Susaa. The delegation was received in the Kremlin by First Vice-Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Pyotr Demichev. In the course of the friendly talks the Soviet and Libyan representatives voiced serious concern over the tense situation created by the militaristic course steered by the U.S. in pursuance of its imperial policy. The head of the Libyan delegation voiced deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for the constant and selfless assistance it has rendered Libya. An important manifestation of our solidarity was the participation of a Soviet delegation headed by Demichev in the celebration in Tripoli on September 1 of the national holiday of the Libyan people, Revolution Day. The anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy in Libya on September 1, 1969, is marked on the initiative of the World Peace Council as the Day of International Solidarity with the Libyan people.

E. KORSHUNOV

The Pentagon's Big Stick

The Paris Jeune Afrique published in its August 13-20 issue an article entitled "The Mediterranean: A Lake of Peace Turned into a Powder Keg," dealing with the explosive situation that has emerged in recent years in the Mediterranean and analyzing the reasons for this state of affairs.

"There is no doubt that the situation in the Mediterranean basin," the article says, "is predominantly influenced by the military presence of the Western allies," i.e., the armed forces of the United States and other NATO countries. The military potential of the U.S. in the Mediterranean, it is stressed, is so great that the sea is often called an "American lake."

Washington's main strike force in this region is the 6th Fleet, which has on repeated occasions acted as an American policeman in the Middle East. According to the magazine, it usually consists of six nuclear-powered submarines, one or two aircraft carriers, about 10 big navy ships, as many auxiliary vessels, a U.S. Marine force with five amphibian landing craft.

To this should be added three air force groups of 72 F-16 planes based in Spain, a naval air reconnaissance force based in Sigonella, Sicily, and a ground force of 4,000 men in Italy and Turkey. In Spain, for instance, the Americans have built an 800-kilometre oil pipeline connecting Cadiz and Saragossa, supplying jet fuel to air force bases. In Italy they have no less than 58 military installations and air force bases.

In Memoriam

Urho Kaleva Kekkonen

Finland is in mourning. Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, the eminent politician and Finland's President for a quarter of a century (1956-81), has died.

His biographers claim that his life was one of high drama and tense political struggle, in which he brilliantly demonstrated his sense of supreme responsibility for the nation's lot.

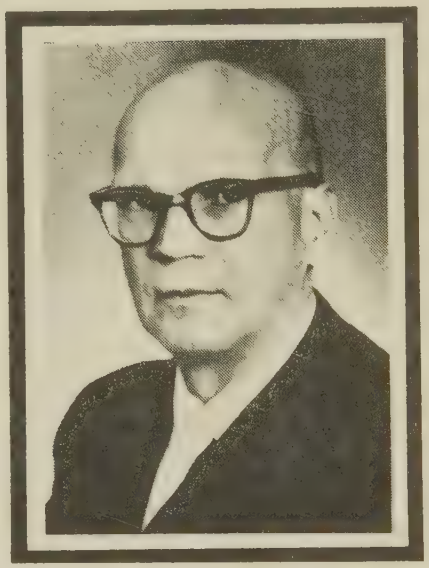
His career, as a politician and statesman, is largely the story of contemporary Finland and its relations with the Soviet Union.

Urho Kaleva Kekkonen said he was sure that any future appraisal of the relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union would focus on mutual trust. Trust is indeed responsible for the successful development of the comprehensive bilateral relationship. Moscow and Helsinki sought to understand each other honestly, without bias. Though the relationship was marred at times by alienation, suspicion and outright hostility, after their great ordeal the two countries embarked, despite their different socio-economic systems, on the path of good-neighbourliness when, in 1948, they concluded their Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance—for which Urho Kaleva Kekkonen is largely to be credited. This unique document, whose historic significance has stood the test of time, is the backbone of Soviet-Finnish relations. It imparted new substance to all of Finland's foreign policy, demonstrating that states with different social systems could, while retaining their national identity, achieve high levels of confidence, sincerity and cooperation. In all honesty, however, it should be observed that both inside and outside Finland attempts are sometimes made to question this document and describe some of its provisions as obsolete. However, Urho Kaleva Kekkonen always emphasized that this would clash first and foremost with Finland's own interests and repeatedly stressed the treaty's enduring importance.

In his message of condolence to Finland's President Koivisto, Mikhail Gorbachev says: "We greatly appreciate the concern that Urho Kaleva Kekkonen always showed in the effort to strengthen mutual confidence between the Soviet Union and Finland, and consistently implement the line laid down in the 1948 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

"As one of the most influential statesmen since the war, U. K. Kekkonen was guided by wisdom and a sense of realism in treating the crucial issues of war and peace."

All Urho Kaleva Kekkonen's work as president likewise shows that even



smaller countries can play a significant role on the international scene. What is noteworthy about this is that in the late 1940s and early 1950s Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, as he himself admitted, took a conservative view of the potential of smaller nations in world politics. At the time he maintained that they should be motivated by "national self-interest" and the desire to survive, and concerned exclusively with their own security. Later he maintained that the 1948 treaty's recognition of Finland's right to remain aloof from the antagonisms between the great powers did not at all imply "brilliant isolation." As he put it, "in matters of war and peace, we are not neutral. Finland is always prepared to support the side that most effectively pursues a realistic policy of peace based on broad international mutual understanding."

Urho Kaleva Kekkonen also said: "We cannot withdraw into ourselves; for us that is plainly inadequate.... The increased interdependence of the world's states and nations demands respect for the just interests of others and mutual understanding and tolerance." What a topical ring these words have in our troubled times! They are further evidence of Urho Kaleva Kekkonen's wise and perspicacious satesmanship.

He fully understood the consequences of a policy that seeks to divide nations, a policy based on the propagation of the doctrine of national exclusiveness. No wonder he so vigorously championed cooperation between the countries of Europe, realizing that only cooperation could strengthen peace and security in our European home. He should be largely credited for the emergence on August 1, 1975, of that unique document of today, the Final Act of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation. Indeed, the entire process of cooperation has come to be known today as the Helsinki process.

Though Urho Kaleva Kekkonen was a talented journalist, whose speeches, statements and letters fill some thirty books, we should not deplore his having given up this profession. Had he not done so Finland and the world would not have known the brilliant politician and statesman who did so much to strengthen Europe's security. Soviet people sincerely believe that the friendly relations between our two countries, and Finland's foreign policy, will continue to serve the interests of peace and international cooperation. Today, as we bow our heads in tribute to the memory of Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, let us recall that he made the two concepts of confidence and integrity the cornerstone of Finland's relations with the socialist countries. How much we would wish these two concepts to shape the foreign policy pursued today by certain Western politicians with regard to the East. Without confidence and integrity we shall not survive on this planet of ours. Urho Kaleva Kekkonen knew this and, in full accord with these two precepts, steered Finland's ship of state through all the 9,500 days he stood at its helm.

D. POGORZHELSKY
our special correspondent

Helsinki

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

At Summit Level

● ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

The Eighth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries opened in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, on September 1. It is being attended by leaders of nearly 100 members of the Movement

which observed its 25th anniversary on that day.

The conference was opened by Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India which has chaired the non-aligned movement for the past three years. The next speaker was Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, who will succeed Rajiv Gandhi as chairman-coordinator of the Movement for the coming three years. The conference was also addressed by representatives of the four regional groups of non-aligned nations—Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America, after which the delegates got down to work.

Much importance is attached here to the message of greeting to the forum from CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in particular, to his statement that the Soviet Union regards the non-aligned movement, "with all the variety of its participants, as a powerful force opposing war and aggression, imperialism, colonialism and racism, and a potential propagator of peace, reason and good will."

The festive atmosphere that prevailed at the opening of the summit is felt everywhere in Harare—in the streets of the city, adorned with gaily-coloured flags and garlands, the freshly painted buildings, the holiday garb of the townsfolk and the numerous guests.

The press centre of the conference is humming with activity, with more than a thousand newsmen working from early morning till late at night. They have the most up-to-date communications equipment at their disposal. Communicating with the delegates, however, is complicated by the measures taken by the hosts to ensure maximum safety for the participants. The need for such security measures is understandable: the unceasing provocations staged by neighbouring South Africa compel the Zimbabweans to be on their guard.

The meetings — first of experts and later of non-aligned foreign ministers—which preceded the conference thoroughly examined the drafts of the documents to be adopted by the leaders of the countries concerned.

A 112-page draft of a political declaration touches upon the numerous problems facing the developing countries and mankind as a whole: the Palestinian problem, the war between Iran and Iraq, the situation in Central America, the new international information order, etc. However, attention will obviously be focussed on three main issues—questions relating to disarmament and the strengthening of world peace, the fight for a new international economic order and the situation in southern Africa.

In an interview to Soviet newsmen, Zimbabwe Minister of Information Dr Mathau Shamuyarira stressed that all members of the non-aligned movement were impressed by the Soviet Union's latest important proposals addressed to the United States and the world at large.

Referring at a press conference to the Soviet government's decision to prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests to January 1, 1987, Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe called it a step in the right direction.

"I believe the whole world thinks so," he said. "We regard the problem of the peace and security of our planet as a fundamental issue. We all want to be assured that the resources of the various countries will be used for no other purposes than those that serve the interests of all humanity."

The Prime Minister's statement reflects the opinions of many of the delegates at the Harare conference. One draft resolution welcomes the programme for disarmament advanced by the Soviet Union. This programme, calling for the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the end of the present century, accords with the interests of all the non-aligned countries, the draft resolution stresses.

The participants in the Harare conference stand for the adoption of the most decisive measures against the apartheid regime in South Africa which is not only committing crimes against the country's African population, but constantly engaging in acts of aggression and subversion against neighbouring frontline states. They demand that South African forces be withdrawn from the territory of Angola and call on the world community to intensify help to that country to uphold its independence.

N. MALYSHEVA

Harare

BOLIVIA

Who Is to Blame?

● OUR COMMENT

A state of emergency was proclaimed in Bolivia on August 27. Some 200 trade union activists and a number of leaders of the country's principal trade union federation—the Bolivian Workers' Centre—have been placed in detention. Units of the army and the police have occupied the premises of the trade unions and the universities. All demonstrations, meetings and gatherings have been banned.

What is the reason for this sharp aggravation of the situation? Why have the authorities resorted to repressive measures? It looks very much as if the government is powerless to check the rising wave of popular discontent, to cope with the actions of the working people in defence of their social rights. These actions are caused by the deplorable state of the Bolivian economy, the steady

decrease in wages, and the growth of unemployment which now runs to 18 per cent of the labour force. World market prices of Bolivia's main export items—tin, oil and gas—have dropped sharply. A country with a population of 6.4 million, Bolivia has a foreign debt of more than $5 billion.

On its advent to power in 1985, the Estenssoro government had the choice of either suspending payments on its foreign debt or limiting them to a reasonable sum, as neighbouring Peru did, in order to be able to stimulate national industry and check the growth of unemployment, or meekly to repay the debt and the usurious interest and comply with IMF "recommendations" to close down unprofitable enterprises in the state sector. Only by meeting this IMF condition could Bolivia expect any deferment of payments or obtain new loans, which in any case would be used not for the needs of its economy but to repay its debts.

The president made his choice. He began by ordering repayment of the foreign debt (his predecessor Hernan Siles Zuazo had stopped payments in March 1984), and not long ago, accepting the IMF's conditions, he agreed to big personnel reductions in the ore mining industry. As many as 3,800 miners were laid off at the Catavi mine alone, the workers being told to "await better times" when the world market price of tin goes up again.

Paz Estenssoro added fuel to the fire by his unpopular decision to invite U.S. troops to Bolivia to help combat the producers of cocaine. The attitude of the general public to the presence of U.S. troops in their country is reflected in the statement of one miners' leader: "We are all opposed to drug smuggling, but we cannot allow our sovereignty to be violated."

The situation in Bolivia remains extremely tense. A march of 5,000 miners on La Paz was halted by a force of some 2,000 Bolivian troops, tanks and lorries. In protest against the state of emergency the executive committee of the Bolivian Workers' Centre, now functioning illegally, called a 24-hour general strike on August 29.

The government's policy of kowtowing to the IMF is encountering the mounting resistance of the popular masses.

V. CHIRKOV

U.S.A.—SOUTH AFRICA

Lest the Racists Take Offence

● **REFLECTIONS ON A BILL**

The U.S. senators were in some difficulty during the debate on the question of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. On the one hand, the demand of the public everywhere, including the U.S. itself, for comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime could hardly be ignored. On the other hand, the senators were reluctant to offend America's "constructive engagement" partner.

In the end they tried to have it both ways. In late August they passed a bill on introducing "moderate" restrictions on trade with South Africa. This applied chiefly to U.S. imports of South African iron and steel and textiles and also a ban on new American investments in the South African economy.

The old investments of course remain intact. The total sum of U.S. capital investments in South Africa are estimated at $15 billion. More than 400 American concerns including such giants as Mobil Oil, General Motors and Exxon operate in that country. Of the 27 kinds of strategic items vital for the U.S. 11 come from South Africa as does the lion's share of the chromium, vanadium and platinum used by the U.S. economy.

Moreover the U.S. legislators themselves are bound to that country by personal interests. It appears that one fifth of all the senators have invested their own capital in South Africa. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Senate version of the bill on sanctions differs notably from that adopted earlier by the House of Representatives which by a big majority voted for a full embargo on trade.

However, the Senate's main consideration in adopting such wishy-washy measures was political. This was pointed up the other day by the South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha in an interview to the U.S. journal Newsweek. The United States and South Africa, he said, have a common goal—the elimination of communism.

The imposition of partial sanctions merely gives the racists more time to plan further insidious actions, W. Moshe of the African National Congress (ANC) has said. Until the West imposes obligatory and comprehensive sanctions on the racist regime Pretoria will continue to mislead the world community by pretending to be revising its policy with regard to the black majority.

It is perfectly clear that the blind anti-communism of the racists is of a piece with the neoglobalist policy of Washington. For this reason the White House, although it condemns apartheid in words, has no intention of taking any serious steps against Pretoria.

Even the half-measures proposed by the Senate evoked the displeasure of the President. He did not mince his words in voicing his disapprobation of the senators' decision, thereby revealing his own approval of the previous policy of connivance with, or rather defence of the criminal racist regime.

Meanwhile reports of more and more victims of South African brutality continue to pour in. Again there were dead and wounded in Soweto. Even according to official data, some 300 people have been killed since the introduction in June of the state of emergency, and more than 2,200 since the beginning of the mass protest actions against the apartheid regime (i.e., since September 1984).

The sanctions issue now goes before the conference committee of Congress whose decision is subject to approval by the president. However, it is already clear that no real sanctions will be imposed. Washington is far too reluctant to hurt such a de-

pendable ally and kindred spirit.

N. RESHETNYAK

FRANCE

Electoral Stratagem

● **AN OBSERVER'S VIEW**

There is no sign of clement weather ahead in the "ocean of distress," as a French journalist has called France today. The gale of "liberalism" that began on March 16 with the entry into government of a bloc of right-wing bourgeois parties is stripping the labels of democracy and pluralism off the façade of the state.

The French are returning from their holidays to a country they no longer can recognize. Scores of large enterprises, banks and insurance companies have been denationalized and handed over to private capital. The employers are drawing up long lists of "redundant" workers, for all controls have been lifted on lay-offs. Arbitrariness on the part of the proprietors has been legalized.

Political debates now centre on the decision taken by the government to substitute a majority system of voting for proportional representation. This is patently an anti-democratic move. The French have not forgotten that as far back as the beginning of the century the dedicated socialist Jean Jaurès called the majority system an "electoral fraud." In today's France return to this system means that voters in general elections, presidential and parliamentary, will in the final analysis be compelled to vote for the candidates of either the parties of the present bourgeois majority or of the Socialist Party. In other words, for the "liberal" policy which came into being in the years of Socialist government and is now being actively and aggressively pursued by the right in the context of "cohabitation," which slowly but surely will develop into collaboration between these two political forces. A tandem will remain a tandem even if the one at the handlebars and the occupant of the back saddle change places.

The tandem system is not to the taste of everybody in France. The latest move of the right-wing government is seen as the biggest political swindle in the history of the Fifth Republic. The characterization is justified. With the change of election rules it is proposed also to redraw the political map of France. The constituencies will be recarved primarily in order to reduce the representation of the French Communist Party to the minimum. For instance, constituencies in which the Communists have a stable electoral majority will be gerrymandered and the cut-off pieces added to constituencies in which the candidates of the parties of Big Business, or at any rate Socialist Party nominees, have won or are likely to win. There are also a great many other ingenious devices. It could well happen that in the next National Assembly there will not be enough Communists to form their own parliamentary group. As Jean-Claude Gayssot, a member of the Secretariat of the French Communist Party, bitterly observed, "it looks as if we are to be the outcasts of society." And this of the only party of the French working people!

The project for the "new geography" of France was prepared in deep secrecy from the Communist Party and Communist members of Parliament. Among those admitted into the secret were the Socialist Party and even the pro-fascist National Front. The author of the project, Minister of the Interior Charles Pasqua, admitted that he would very much like to see a monument raised to him after the gerrymandering. And indeed why not?

V. TSOPPI

CAMEROON

Killer Lake

● **REPORT FROM A DISASTER AREA**

"When I ran out of the house I was hit by a blast of scorching hot air. I just managed to get a whiff of a smell like gunpowder before losing consciousness. I came to three hours later. It was no longer so hot, but the smell had not been dispelled. My first thoughts were of my son. I made my way with difficulty into his bedroom, but found him dead. He was only six." Chia Clement spoke with difficulty. His face was covered with burns and he was frequently convulsed by fits of coughing. The memories of that terrible night were painful.

Chia Clement is one of thousands of eyewitnesses of the tragedy that happened late in the evening of August 21 at Lake Nios in the North-West province of Cameroon. Volcanic gas discharged from the lake bottom spread to adjoining villages. According to initial computations, some 1,800 persons died within minutes. Many of the survivors suffered burns and nearly all, injuries to the respiratory tract and lungs. As soon as the news reached Yaounde, the capital of Cameroon, President Paul Biya flew to the spot. Army units and police were dispatched there with all speed.

Ten thousand people were in need of medical and other aid. It was essential immediately to bury the dead and destroy the carcases of cattle to prevent the vicinity of the lake from becoming a source of epidemics. Medicaments, food and other prime necessities for the evacuees, and also desinfectants for the disaster-striken villages are being air-lifted to Bamenda, the administrative centre of the province. Assistance has been rendered by many countries, including the Soviet Union, and specialized U.N. agencies.

In nearby towns local and foreign medical personnel are taking care of the victims, many of whom survived only because they managed to drink palm oil with honey, a folk remedy long known in these parts, when the gas cloud struck.

In the opinion of experts from different countries who have come to Cameroon, the gas released as a result of volcanic activity had accumulated over a long time in a sort of "reservoir" under the lake bottom. Tremors in the earth's crust opened a fissure through which the gas was discharged. The force of the eruption was so great that it could be heard over a radius of 80 kilometres. As regards the gas, most scientists believe it was a lethal mixture of hydrogen sulphide and carbonic and coal gases.

The worldwide renowned French volcanologist Haroun Tazieff believes that Lake Nios could spring more dangerous surprises. There is no guarantee that the same thing will not happen at any of the other volcanic lakes that abound in northwestern Cameroon, he says. It is therefore necesary immediately to make a comprehensive investigation of this part of the country. The Cameroon government announced that such an investigation will be started shortly.

V. BOGDANOV

Through Unity to Peace and Justice

IBRAHIM ZAKARIA
General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions

On September 16, the 11th World Trade Union Congress opens in Berlin. It is remarkable that the international working-class movement should review its forces in the year in which we celebrate the centenary of May Day, the festival of proletarian solidarity in the struggle against capital and the campaign for peace and social justice.

More than a thousand delegates will meet in the capital of the German Democratic Republic to report on the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 10th Trade Union Congress in Havana in February 1982 and outline ways of strengthening trade union unity, the basic prerequisite for the realization of the hopes of the working people for a better future.

* * *

The congress is open to all trade unions irrespective of their political orientation and regional or international affiliation. Holding such open forums for a broad dialogue among the world's trade unions has been the tradition of congresses convened by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The exchange of ideas between trade unions from countries with different social systems and with diverse socio-economic backgrounds has always been important. This has become all the more necessary today. Now as never before, it is imperative to combine efforts through a comradely discussion which helps to find common solutions to stave off the danger of war and repel the attack of capital on the working people's rights. The disturbing international situation makes it imperative that the 11th World Trade Union Congress should be a milestone on the way to strengthening the unity of the working people.

The congress has been preceded by extensive preparatory work. Last October, the 37th WFTU General Council session outlined its main directions. To draft the principal document, the session decided to set up an ad hoc editorial board that would also include non-WFTU people. The draft document that had been worked out on this broad basis was endorsed after thorough discussion at the 35th session of the WFTU Executive Bureau in April 1986 and dispatched to all organizations intending to send delegates to Berlin.

From the outset, the congress's sponsors aimed to draw as many working people as possible, a broad spectrum of the trade union movement, in the discussion of the document. We believed that this approach would help to enrich the draft document with new ideas coming from diverse sources but having the single objective of facilitating the stepping up of the joint trade union struggle for peace and disarmament, democratic and trade union rights and freedoms, and better living conditions for the working people.

The draft document to be submitted to the congress gives a detailed assessment of the significance of important events that have taken place in the world and in the international trade union movement since the Havana congress, defining objectives and prospects for trade union action in the years ahead. The draft provides for steps to improve WFTU activities.

Analyzing the experience of trade unions in the capitalist world, the draft of the principal document points out that the capitalist employers and the governments acting on their behalf are doing their utmost not only to impose austerity but also to wipe out many of the social advances won over decades of struggle. The draft further states that "they are even going further and attacking the actual idea of trade unionism." I think the coming congress will furnish more than one proof of this sad fact.

In the developed capitalist countries the policy of internationalization of capital has taken on new dimensions, with the drive for higher profits, leading capital to invest in operations with high profitability and to control advanced technology. This policy results, the trade unions warn, in lower employment and the unbalanced development of national economies.

The trade unions must not ignore the fact that the runaway growth of corporate profits, especially in the military-industrial sector, is accompanied by the relative and sometimes absolute impoverishment of the working people. Due to the dismantling of factories and the abandoning of productive activities, whole regions have been depressed and this has created mass redundancies. The steady decline in real wages and living standards caused by inflation and astute exploitation remains the most serious problem in the capitalist countries.

This analysis is confirmed by recent studies in many countries. For example, the Los Angeles Times wrote this sum-

The preservation of peace is the prime concern of the trade unions; if we fail to find a way to secure peace our whole struggle will be in vain, says a resolution adopted by the congress of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of Canada. This is a fitting reply to those in the West who would like the trade unionists to hold aloof from the anti-war movement.

For a peaceful future for our planet, for disarmament and détente, against militarization of outer space were some of the slogans of the Day of Trade Union Action for Peace, the biggest trade union International Year of Peace action, held on September 1. It was initiated by the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

"At one time fascism originated in our country," said Guido Gabotto, member of the national leadership of the Christian Association of Italian Workers, who came to Moscow to take part in the Action Day. "Today we see NATO bases on our territory. The working people of my country do not want war. That is why we support the Soviet

In Milan, Italy's major industrial centre, another 70,000 factory workers have been added to the army of unemployed in the past two years alone. Above: a demonstration of angry metalworkers demanding jobs.

TASS photo

mer: "The Reagan Administration boasts that the U.S. economy is in the fourth year of the strongest recovery from a recession in postwar history, but the boast is an empty one for the average American worker.... The sad fact is that the real average weekly wage of workers plummeted a startling 10 per cent between May 1978 and May 1986." A drop of one per cent alone in real wages in the United States would amount to about $20 billion a year.

The monopolies are putting even greater pressure on the developing countries, where over three thousand million people live. The draft cites scandalous facts of the vicious exploitation of Asian, African and Latin American nations. The drain of resources from these vast regions, as a consequence of exploitation by the transnational corporations and banks, amounts to over 200 billion dollars every year. In the past ten years alone, the profits pumped out from the developing countries by U.S. transnational corporations were four times larger than their investments in these countries. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the profits reaped were eight times as much as the influx of foreign capital. As a result, in the early 1980s per capita income in the developing countries was on average 11 times lower than in economically developed capitalist countries, and the gap continues to widen.

The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are used to plunder the resources of developing countries more intensively. Both are employed by the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, to work against the principles of the U.N.'s international development strategy.

International bankers and transnational corporations have at their disposal a wide variety of means to undermine the developing countries' economies and infiltrate their economic structures. The studies made by the trade unions point to the adverse cumulative effect of the fall in export prices and the rise in import prices for the foreign trade of developing countries; usurious interest rates, the burden of debt, the brain drain, the declared and undeclared

The Basic Right

moratorium on all nuclear tests and other peace initiatives of the Soviet Union whose aim is to protect the planet, and that means us Italians too, from the danger of a nuclear war."

On September 1 peace shifts were held at factories and plants all over the Soviet Union.

In many cities fellow workers from foreign countries worked side by side with their Soviet counterparts—Bulgarians in Novy Oskol, workers from the G.D.R. helping to build the Soyuz-2 pipeline in Tula, specialists from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea engaged in timber-felling in Khabarovsk Territory. Bohumil Jez, leader of a group of Czechoslovak workers from the TOS works, said that he and his fellow workers at the Ordjonikidze machine-tool plant decided to top their labour productivity record on Trade Union Action Day, and added that he was sure that his Moscow colleagues working at the TOS works in Czechoslovakia would do likewise.

On that day representatives of Moscow's leading work collectives together with their foreign guests met in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions. Delegates from 16 countries declared in support of the latest peace initiatives of the U.S.S.R. and appealed to working people everywhere to join efforts to save mankind from the danger of nuclear war.

At the opening of the meeting in Moscow.

Photo by V. Panov

A mass Soviet-Finnish anti-war rally took place in Murmansk. Workers and trade union leaders from Britain, France, the U.S.A., Ethiopia and Nigeria visited other Soviet cities on the occasion. Such meetings have already become traditional in our country.

The September trade union anti-war actions are spreading from year to year, as more and more people realize that they can do much to protect the world from atomic annihilation. They have acquired no little experience in fighting for their rights, and today the fate of the most important right of all—the right to life—is in the balance.

V. GALIN

repatriation of profits by foreign capital, the transfer of the TNCs pricing methods to the Third World, and so on. The foreign debt has become a huge burden to developing countries. The draft document points out that the "colossal manipulation and swindle by the neo-colonialist forces and parasitic elements allied with them ruin the national economies of the developing countries thus exploited, causing great harm to workers' interests."

The above invites an unequivocal conclusion and the document drafted for the congress formulates it thus: "For the workers in developing countries and developed capitalist countries, the enemy is the common exploiter—the transnationals with their strategy of maximizing profits. Trade and economic relations can only be beneficial if organized on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit. The experiences of economic and commercial relations between developing countries and socialist countries provide such an example."

* * *

The 11th World Trade Union Congress is being held in the year the United Nations proclaimed International Year of Peace. The trade union movement entered it under the slogan: "Working people and trade unions for peace and work," which reflects the main targets for all social forces in the struggle against the threat of war.

This topic, doubtless, will be a central point for discussion at the 11th World Trade Union Congress. The draft document provides a good basis for this discussion. It notes, in part, that the period since the 10th Congress has witnessed an upsurge of the anti-war movement of workers and peoples. The escalation of the nuclear arms race and its destructive consequences are causing grave concern to ever wider sections of the world public. All trade unions therefore welcomed the Geneva summit between the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. They are now upholding the idea of negotiations on arms control and disarmament and urging that ways be sought to eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The draft to be discussed at the congress emphasizes that trade unions are strongly opposed to President Reagan's "star wars" project, which was denounced as an example of "imperialism's knack of perverting technical progress." If the process of militarizing outer space is not halted, the dangers posed by the arms race will become yet more grave. The deployment of nuclear facilities in near-earth space will intensify the arms race on earth as well, and this will heighten the risk of an accidental outbreak of war, with incalculable consequences.

The trade unions are paying special attention to the ways in which the arms race is being financed and the scale on which it is being done. In their view, there is an interrelation between the multi-billion dollar debt of the developing countries and the huge increase of U.S. military spending by more than a thousand billion dollars in the last ten years. The losses in earnings of the working people in the capitalist countries run into hundreds of billions of dollars since the money goes to finance the arms race and fatten the profits of the military-industrial complexes.

Special attention will be paid in Berlin to such essential problems for trade unions as the link between disarmament and employment. Using objective data, the WFTU has repeatedly pointed out that a cut of a mere 10 per cent in arms expenditure would be sufficient to finance a 10-year development programme to benefit the millions of working people now deprived of even the barest necessities and ensure the opportunity for them to make a decent living. According to studies carried out at the International Labour Organization, some 180 million jobs could be created if arms spending were reduced the world over.

The second world trade union conference on the social and economic aspects of disarmament was held in Dublin last May. In its declaration the conference stated that the dividing line between peace and war is too tenuous for brinkmanship and the socio-economic implications of the arms race are too grave to be tolerated.

This grim but sober warning helped trade union delegates of different orientations from 47 countries work out a definite resolution: "The threat of nuclear war must not only be averted but also urgently eliminated; nuclear tests must not only be stopped but also outlawed; the arms race must not only be limited but also ended; nuclear arsenals must not only be reduced but also destroyed urgently; military expenditure must not only be frozen but also reduced; outer space should not be used for 'star wars' or other military programmes but rather for peaceful and creative purposes."

Despite some differences of views between the participants in the Dublin meeting, they agree that it is imperative to declare a world democratic alternative to militaristic policies. 420 million trade union members, they stated with justified optimism, are a tremendous force capable of making a great contribution to the solution of the vital socio-economic problems facing the world community.

A significant impetus to step up the anti-war struggle of the working people has been provided by the peaceful Soviet initiatives and, in particular, by the statements made by Mikhail Gorbachev on January 15 this year, envisaging real measures to eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of the century, and on August 18, declaring the prolongation of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests with a view to facilitating an agreement on a complete ban. That many national and international trade union associations of different affiliations have acclaimed the statements is evidence that Soviet disarmament policy is consonant with the hopes and interests of working people.

Today the unity of the trade union movement is a historic imperative. Discord in our ranks plays into the hands of our common enemy. The realization of this fact pervades the draft document of the 11th World Trade Union Congress, whose chief target as the document defines it is "to contribute to the cause of unity, to enable the world trade union movement to accomplish its historic task to hasten human progress."

The tendency to seek ways to ensure unity of action is also beginning to gain ground outside WFTU. For example, the World Confederation of Labour, an important international trade union association, proposed to "promote for 1986, the organization of a meeting between all the international trade union organizations, the different regional trade union organizations and the independent confederations in order to work out a programme which should at least include the following topics: the world-wide crisis, the foreign debt, real democracy and trade union rights and freedoms." The proposal was to hold such a meeting to commemorate the May Day centenary.

Our federation has welcomed this initiative. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the third major international trade union association, has however not responded so far to this initiative.

* * *

The 35th session of the WFTU Bureau, held this spring, stated in its resolution: "We must stay true to the idea of May Day and to human values, because civilization is the fruit of our labour. It is we who have created it. It is our right and our duty to protect and enrich it."

Our dynamic era has turned the international labour movement into a force to change the shape of the world. The task of the 11th World Trade Union Congress is to find ways to unite the forces of the trade union movement, to end the present squandering of human and material resources on the arms race, place the world economy on the path of balanced development and turn the world into a world of peace and social progress.

■

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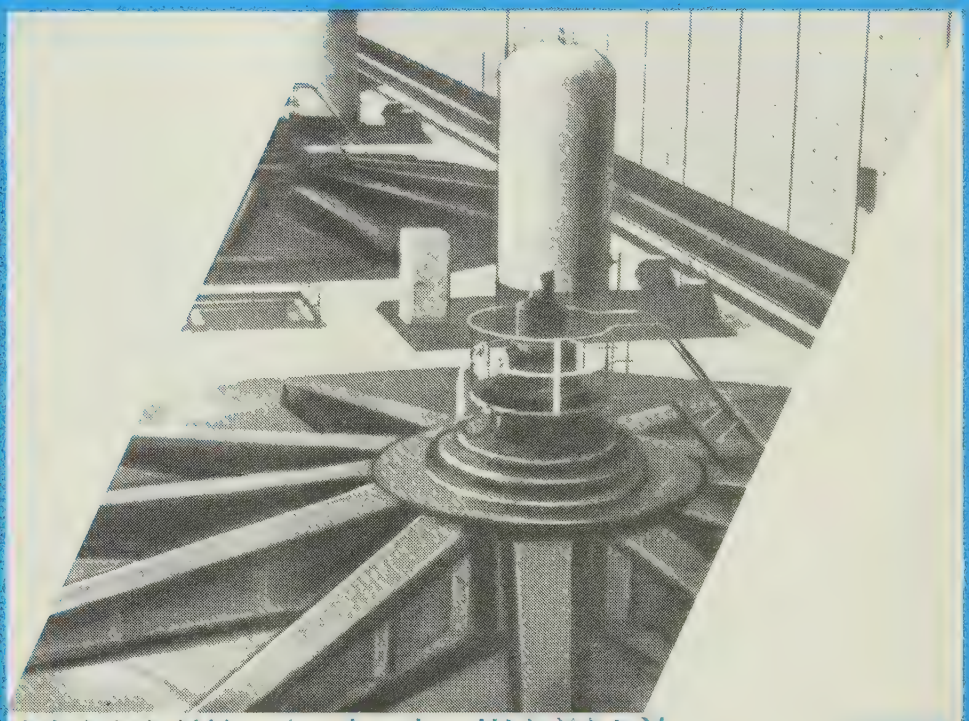

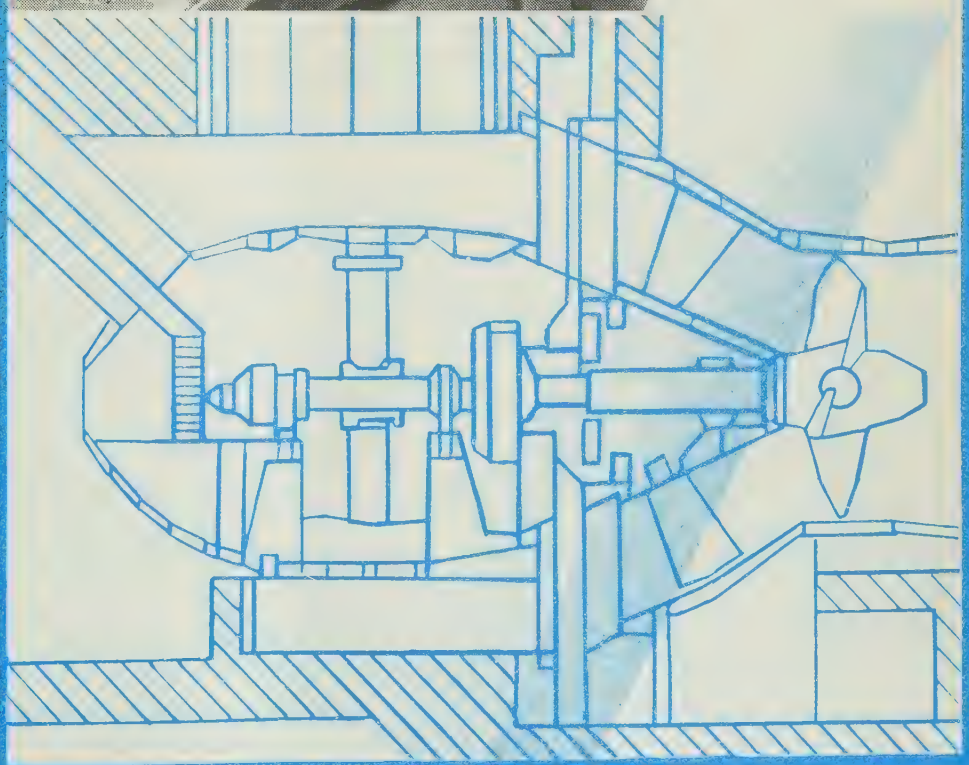

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Nuclear Power Development After Chernobyl

ALEXANDER PETROSYANTS,
Chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee
for the Utilization of Atomic Energy

The Soviet authority concerned has sent the International Atomic Energy Agency a report on the causes of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. The experts who discussed it at IAEA headquarters in Vienna said that it was objective and open and that it would play an important part in determining ways for the further peaceful exploitation of atomic energy.

The Soviet Union put the world's first atomic power plant into service at Obninsk 32 years ago. Atomic power stations are playing a major role in many countries. In some countries they account for a significant proportion of their total electric power supply—from 15 to 60 per cent.

The U.S.S.R. is one of the few countries with substantial reserves of organic fuels. It is the world's third largest producer of coal and it leads the world in the output of oil, including gas condensate. Its hydropower resources are far from having been exhausted. However, the U.S.S.R.'s natural resources are unevenly distributed. Close to 90 per cent of the fuel and 80 per cent of the water power resources are located in the Asian part of the country, while the European part consumes the lion's share of these resources. Therefore, it is economically expedient to build atomic power plants in the European part.

By 1986 the Soviet Union held third place in the world in the output of atomic power units. Last year they generated nearly 170 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

Although countries differ in their attitude towards atomic power plants, the achievements of nuclear power engineering are obvious. In the last few years the U.S. has radically revised its policy in this field, having dramatically slowed down the growth of output from atomic power plants.

Atomic Power Plants: to Build Them or Not?

It would be fair to say that there have been two stages in the development of nuclear power engineering. The first was from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. It could be referred to, albeit with some degree of exaggeration, as a period of optimism. It was characterized by numerous orders for atomic power plants, rapid construction, relatively low specific investments and optimistic forecasts.

I would like to note in parenthesis that the U.S.S.R. showed a more reserved and, I would say, more critical, though unequivocally positive, attitude to the rapid increase in the number of atomic power stations.

During the second stage (till the mid-1980s) several countries reappraised the role of atomic power stations. The rate of increase in the number of atomic plants declined considerably and their competitive capacity began to drop to a marked degree.

Today the attitude to nuclear power engineering is largely determined by the availability of national energy resources. The European countries are developing their nuclear industries rapidly, as they are eager to become less dependent on oil imports. This is true in particular of France, Belgium and Switzerland.

In the last decade the U.S.S.R. has increased the use of atomic power plants. We believe that in the foreseeable future nuclear power will be able to meet mankind's growing needs and, provided normal operational requirements are observed, will inflict only minimal damage on the environment. By making the states concerned less dependent on external energy supplies, atomic power plants help stabilize the world economy and international relations.

For the most part we shall develop our atomic power generating facilities in the European part of the country. By 1990 our atomic power plants will be generating 390 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity.

For the benefit of those who are interested in technical details I would add that we use two types of slow neutron power reactor: the pressurized light-water-moderated and cooled reactor and the light-water-cooled graphite moderated reactor.

By 2000 we plan to switch to plants with fast breeder neutron reactors. We already have three stations with fast breeder neutron reactors in operation, in Ulyanovsk Region, Kazakhstan and the Urals. Another is currently under construction. This means that our country is giving nuclear power engineering a good chance to prove its worth.

Thermonuclear power engineering, i.e., plants based on controlled thermonuclear fusion, opens up breathtaking prospects for humanity, because it will give mankind access to inexhaustible energy supplies. On the U.S.S.R.'s initiative an international group INTOR has been set up under the auspices of the IAEA. Its members—the U.S.S.R., Japan, the U.S. and a small group of other Western countries—have produced a conceptual design for a thermonuclear reactor on the basis of the Tokamak.

When Mikhail Gorbachev visited France and later Genéva in 1985, he proposed, first to François Mitterrand and then to Ronald Reagan, a jointly developed prototype thermonuclear reactor for a new type of power plant. At present the parties concerned are

The Novovoronezh nuclear power station, one of the biggest in the Soviet Union. Foreign specialists are also trained here.

TASS photo

discussing the practical steps involved in implementing such a scheme.

Accidents

The opponents of atomic power plants have quite rightly focussed attention on questions of reliability and safety.

Although the designers and technologists who developed the reactors and atomic power stations believed they had provided every conceivable protective measure, they have failed to exclude accidents altogether.

In 1957 a breakdown in a reactor at Windscale, Great Britain, resulted in the release of the products of radioactive fission.

In 1959 there was a meltdown of several components of nuclear fuel at Santa Susanna in the U.S.

In 1961 an explosion occurred in a reactor at Idaho Falls in the U.S.

In 1966 there was a partial meltdown of the core of the Enrico Fermi reactor in Detroit in the U.S.

In 1979 there was a meltdown of the core of a reactor at the Three Mile Island atomic power plant in the U.S.

In 1982 a steam generator pipe at the Ginna reactor in the U.S. burst, discharging radioactive steam into the atmosphere.

In the period from 1971 to 1984, 151 accidents were registered in 14 countries, sometimes with grave consequences for people and the evironment.

The accident in Chernobyl was caused by a gross violation of the rules governing the operation of the reactor plant.

After two years in operation the fourth unit should have been stopped for routine maintenance procedures. However, the plant's management decided only to test one of the turbogenerators. The experiment was to show whether it would be possible to use the mechanical energy of the turbogenerator rotor (after the steam was cut off) to work the auxiliary mechanisms of the de-energized unit. This was a purely electrical engineering test which had nothing to do with the reactor as such.

The experiment revealed the low qualitative standard of the test programme which failed even to provide the necessary safety precautions. Having cut off the reactor's emergency cooling system at 2 p.m. on April 25, those conducting the experiment were about to proceed with the test. However, in compliance with a request from the controller of Kievenergo (the power supply authority) the unit was not stopped. In defiance of all operational regulations, it continued to work, in spite of the fact that the reactor's emergency cooling system was out of commission, until 1.23 a.m. on April 26, that is, until the accident took place.

The test programme had not been cleared with the offices of the chief designer of the reactor, the chief designer of the power plant, or the leading scientist in nuclear safety engineering, which functioned round the clock at the atomic power station.

The plant management failing to ensure adequate control and effective safety precautions, the accident took on disastrous proportions.

The Soviet government invited the IAEA directorate to Moscow as early as May 3, i.e., immediately after the accident. Hans Blix, Director-General of the IAEA, Leonard Konstantinov, his deputy, and Morris Rosen, Director of the Nuclear Safety Division, arrived in Moscow on May 5.

They were received at the U.S.S.R. State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy. We gave them all the information we had on the accident and showed them a film taken at Chernobyl two days after the event. It was an amateur film shot by staff members of the Scientific Research and Design Power Engineering Institute. However, it showed clearly what the accident had done to the reactor of the fourth unit.

Hans Blix expressed a desire on behalf of the delegation to visit Chernobyl. On May 8 it flew to Kiev and from there by helicopter to Chernobyl. They were accompanied by Evgeny Velikhov, vice-president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Victor Sidorenko, first deputy chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on the Supervision of Nuclear Power Safety, and the present author. Flying at a height of 400 metres we viewed the entire atomic power plant, the undamaged first and second units and the damaged third and fourth units. We also inspected the site of the fifth and sixth units which are under construction.

Discussions at the IAEA

Our exchanges and discussions were summed up in a joint communiqué. In compliance with a request from the IAEA, the Soviet side expressed readiness to provide it with information on the accident as it came in. Hans Blix proposed to analyze it at a meeting of experts. The results of the analysis would be made available to the IAEA member countries. We submitted detailed information to this effect to the IAEA early in August.

The Soviet government also supplied the IAEA with daily information on radiation levels at a point 60 kilometres from Chernobyl and six other points along the U.S.S.R.'s western border, namely, Leningrad, Riga, Vilnius, Brest, Rakhov and Kishinev. The IAEA in turn forwarded this information to the national bodies of the IAEA member countries dealing with radiation safety.

In the communiqué the Soviet side made it clear that the accident would not affect its plans for the development of atomic power plants in the U.S.S.R. Discussions were held on ways of improving safety standards at nuclear power plants and international measures to be worked out within the framework of the IAEA to lessen the possible effect of an atomic accident. What is needed is an instrument which will give timely warning of the release of radioactive substances that may affect areas outside the national territory of a given state. It is also necessary to exchange information on radiation levels and provide nuclear plants with additional protection which will rule out accidents or reduce their effect.

The IAEA, whose efforts are concentrated solely on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, is beginning to play a role of special importance.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union and several other IAEA member countries, the IAEA held a special meeting in the middle of August to discuss two conventions: one on obligatory notification of nuclear accidents regardless of where they occur, if they endanger neighbouring states, and one on rendering aid in the event of an accident at an atomic power plant. Both conventions have been prepared for submission to and approval by a special international conference to be held in Vienna late in September. When the conference has approved the conventions, they will be submitted to the IAEA member countries to be signed.

In his statement on the extension of the Soviet moratorium till January 1, 1987, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the explosion of the smallest nuclear device is equal in radioactivity to three Chernobyls. Speaking on TV on May 14 he said:

"As far as we are concerned, the indisputable lesson of Chernobyl is that, in the context of the further advance of the scientific-technological revolution, questions pertaining to the reliability and safety of equipment, and matters of discipline, order and organization are acquiring paramount importance."

Of course, all scientists and specialists who work in atomic power engineering must draw serious and far-reaching conclusions from this lesson—organizational, scientific and technological.

History shows that there is, alas, always a price to be paid for the introduction of new and highly sophisticated equipment.

But this accident has also shown the terrible danger inherent in atomic energy once it is out of control, and the even greater danger of the nuclear arms race, since the use of such weapons will bring about a disaster incomparably greater than that resulting from any accident at an atomic plant. ■

Bolshevik Island.

Burgas: Symbols Old and New

The Great Soviet Encyclopedia mentions only one island named Bolshevik. Actually, there is at least one other island of that name. It is situated in the warm Black Sea waters three miles from the port of Burgas in Bulgaria.

Bolshevik Island on the Black Sea

I missed the cruiser that was leaving for the island. I stood awhile on the pier wondering whether I should go for a stroll around Burgas when someone called me, "Hey, friend, are you for Bolshevik Island?"

An old sailor in a bleached storm jacket was standing on the deck of a small cutter bobbing on the waves behind the tall piles of the passenger pier. "I can give you a lift," he offered. "And I'll pick you up on my way back in about three hours."

A minute later the cutter, emitting a blue wisp of smoke, headed briskly out to sea.

It took us just 30 minutes to get from Burgas to the Island of Bolshevik. It is a stretch of rock about a hundred metres long and several dozen metres wide, barely covered with soil. The ceaseless pounding of the waves on the rock, the wilted grass, the shrieking of sea gulls, a lighthouse and a squat old monastery—that is all there is on the island.

It used to be called the Isle of St. Anastasia who was venerated by the hermit monks who settled here in the 16th century. It was virtually a desert island before 1924 when Bulgarian fascists turned the abode of the monks into a concentration camp for the leaders of the anti-fascist uprising of 1923.

On July 29, 1925, the inmates mutinied. Led by Teokhar Bakyrdzhiev, secretary of the outlawed Burgas committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, they seized the guard house and the lighthouse and took control of the island. Teokhar Bakyrdzhiev told an improvised rally: "Comrades, in a few days the authorities were going to stage a trial. Many of us would have died. This is what made our party organization stage the uprising. We shall go to the Turkish border and from there to our brothers in Soviet Russia. All those who are ready to face the journey can come with us."

It was a long and dangerous journey. The fugitives were pursued by the police and suffered from hunger and thirst. And yet they managed to cross the border and reach Istanbul. On August 17, with the aid of Soviet diplomats and the International Red Aid organization, the Bulgarian Communists set out for Soviet shores on board the MS Ilyich.

The Bulgarian press did not mention the event and the authorities were silent about it too. However, word of the successful mutiny on the island got around. The mutineers were popularly referred to as Bolsheviks although not all of them were really Communists. The island too came to be known as Bolshevik, a name that was officially recognized after the socialist revolution of September 9, 1944.

Bolshevik Island is now one of Burgas's sites of historical interest, a symbol of its revolutionary past. The jail has been turned into a museum which is visited by tourists from all over the country and from abroad. Surviving former inmates also come here.

In three hours' time Angel Tosho (that was the name of the old sailor) picked me up from the island. Nimbly steering his way around the ships moored at the pier, he confidently took his old boat into the smooth stretch of Burgas Bay. A gleaming white hydrofoil glided past us. It carried a crowd of children in white blouses and blue ties.

"Those are Chavdar. They are going on an excursion to Bolshevik. When I was a boy, the island drew me like a magnet." He recalled how he and other children in Burgas spent weeks mending and tarring an old abandoned boat reeking of fish and weeds. They wanted to get to the island in it.

Their dreams came true when the revolution of September 9, 1944, brought freedom and altered the face of their country. Their own region changed beyond recognition. Formerly Burgas was a run-down port with no industry to speak of. Today 25,000-ton ships slip off the berths at the local shipyard to ply the waters of the World Ocean. Fishermen from Burgas can now be met off the shores of Spitsbergen and Georgia, Africa and Robinson Crusoe Island in the Pacific. My acquaintance Angel Tosho, a hereditary sailor, spent forty years on the vessels of the Bulgarian Black Sea shipping line, including the tanker Khan Asparukh. Retired a year ago, he has not parted with the sea. His two sons, though, have broken the marine tradi-

tion: they work at the Burgas petrochemical complex.

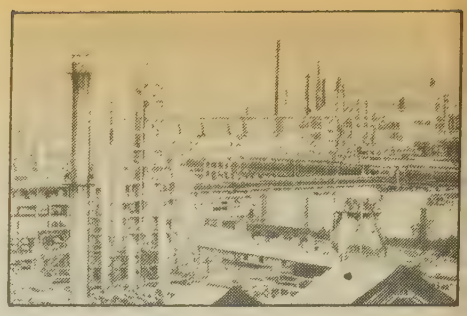
Petrochemical Complex

Twenty years ago Burgas pioneered a new industry previously unknown in Bulgaria—petrochemistry. In the early 1960s petroleum was first produced in the village of Kameno near Burgas, with Soviet assistance. The Burgas Petrochemical Complex spearheaded a boom in petrochemistry in Bulgaria. The employees are descendants of Bulgarian revolutionaries who languished in the sombre cells on St. Anastasia island.

A large map of the world prominently displayed at the complex's museum is covered with red arrows fanning out from Burgas in various directions. They indicate the more than forty countries to which the complex exports its products. That the descendants of seafarers have made excellent chemical workers is attested by more than thirty gold medals from international fairs and exhibitions. The plant produces about 150 types of goods, including synthetic rubber and fibres, liquid fuel and lubricants, products of organic synthesis and aromatic carbohydrates, plastics and bitumen.

"Production at the complex skyrocketed in the 1980s," says Pyotr Peikov, Secretary of the Burgas committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. "We have launched a catalytic cracking complex. It uses a unique method of deep oil processing which makes it possible to produce twenty-five per cent more petrol, diesel fuel and other products from the same amount of crude oil. This is particularly important for us in Bulgaria because we have almost no oil of our own and have to import it from abroad."

Bulgarians stress the role of cooperation with the CMEA countries, especially the Soviet Union. More than 60 per cent of the Burgas complex capacity has been built with Soviet technical assistance.



The petrochemical complex in Burgas.

The complex has become a kind of testing ground for the most up-to-date petrochemical technology. With the launching of sulphate alkylation plants Bulgaria has become one of the few countries in the world producing top-grade alkyl benzine with a particularly high octane number.

Thirty-eight years ago on September 9 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was proclaimed

Forging Ahead

I have driven over a thousand kilometres on the roads of people's Korea and have never ceased to marvel. It is an amazing country, unlike any other. I tried to compare its landscapes with familiar places in my native Russia—the Urals, the Volga and the Russian North—only to be more convinced that Korean landscapes with their cone-shaped mountains, valleys and coastal areas are unique. By the roadside I saw peasants chasing away or netting the wild geese that descend on the paddy fields to feast on rice. People guard their crops carefully. For Koreans rice is what wheat is for Russians.

In the Southern Hwanghae Province we turned off the highway to visit the Oguk farm cooperative. Friendly handshakes, a cordial talk in the farm's administrative office. Low tables laden with fruit. We talk about rice growing. The cooperative has 1,450 hectares under rice. Its 1,300 families form 16 teams engaged mainly in rice growing. The yields are high: 7.5 tons per hectare. There is little farmland in Korea, so they are trying to make farming more intensive and boost yields. The farm chairman, Kim Su Gwang, Hero of Labour of the D.P.R.K., tells us in detail about his responsibilities. He joined the cooperative on its first day and has committed all his skill and effort to it. The cooperative is his brainchild, so to speak.

The republic's rice farmers set their sights high. They propose to reach a target of 15 million tons in coming years, i.e., to increase the output of rice and other cereals by more than a third within a short space of time. Both the party workers and the experts with whom I talked feel that these are realistic targets, and are working hard to reach them. Completing the comprehensive programme for the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture and putting it on an industrial basis will be decisive.

Oguk has more than fifty tractors, not to speak of trucks and buses that take farmers to the fields. They all live in a well-appointed village with rows of two-storey houses. The modern kindergarten we visited has many children. We saw roadside stalls selling soft drinks and an assortment of small items. The farmers have their lunch out in the fields, cooking the food they bring from home.

In the administrative office, I was shown a plan of the cooperative's social development which provides for the building of priority social amenities. These include a library. Work is all very well, but the local leaders are also concerned about meeting people's cultural needs.

Vocational training is also high on the agenda. In Oguk, 135 farmers have finished secondary technical schools, and every team has a college-trained agronomist.

The nucleus of the work force is made up of the 630 members of the Workers' Party of Korea who set an example of conscientious work. They have initiated a drive to boost rice yields to eight tons per hectare. For the sake of comparison, before independence they got about four tons. Looking at the work of the cooperative and meeting its diligent and disciplined workers you cannot help feeling that these targets will be met. The Korean farmer can accomplish a great deal. And the Oguk cooperative is not an exception.

One is aware of the same creative drive on the Yellow Sea coast. The Sixth Congress of the WPK set the task of developing 300,000 hectares of tideland on the west coast, as well as

Anyone at all familiar with oil processing knows that it involves the discharge of a lot of waste industrial water which cannot simply be put in settling tanks because it has a high poisonous cyanide content and has to be either burned together with the poisonous admixtures or purified by cyanide hydrolysis reaction. Hydrolysis purification is, however, a complex process. So, for years the plant just burned the industrial water. The operation involved more than 10,000 tons of fuel oil a year.

The management was aware of this but accepted it as inevitable until technologist Vasil Chakyrov stood up at a meeting and declared that it was high time they put an end to this waste of energy and changed over to the chemical purification of the water. He proposed his own method of separating the harmful admixtures. Many took up Chakyrov's idea and came to share his enthusiasm. They set up a pressure group.

Gancho Nedelchev, the complex director, approved of the initiative. He proposed to put it on a business basis and sign a scientific and technical cooperation agreement between the plant and Chakyrov's team. Under the contract, the management was to cover the initial expense of introducing the new water-purification method while the team would execute the project within the shortest time possible. In the event of success the income would be shared by the plant and the team, and in the event of failure the management would bear the cost.

The team went to work hammer and tongs. Not only Chakyrov and his engineer colleagues, but many workers stayed in the shop after their regular shift, tinkering with the chemical reactor which had to be adjusted to a new technology. The experiment produced a highly efficient method of water purification which has saved the plant a million leva in the past 12 months alone.

The Soviet Union, the G.D.R. and some Japanese firms have already taken out licences for the new technique. All the members of Vasil Chakyrov's team received handsome remuneration, and he himself has been awarded the State Prize.

The premises of the Burgas Petrochemical Complex look like a town, with long streets lined with shrubs and trees and flowers. There are zebra crossings for pedestrians in the broad squares between the multistoreyed buildings. Intraplant traffic is controlled by lights. Even if you climb to the observation platform on the eleventh floor of the main office, it is impossible to see all the thirty plants that make up the complex. In addition to these buildings there are shops, polyclinics, and dozens of other amenities. Only the flares from tall thin pipes—a familiar sight at any oil refinery—betray the nature of this working town. These torches, like the lights of the beacon on Bolshevik Island, can be seen from far out to sea.

E. SHASHKOV

Burgas—Moscow

200,000 hectares of hilly and other less suitable terrain. These plans are being put into practice by the production associations that exist in each province on the Yellow Sea coast. One way to solve the problem is to build several-kilometre-long dikes.

Year by year, more and more land is reclaimed from the sea and transformed into fertile ploughland before being turned over to agricultural cooperatives. We spent half a day watching the building of a small section of the dike in the Eungryol District. We drove over the dike and talked to workers and experts. The narrow strip stretches out over the sea to Nungando Island. The bay will soon be blocked and then another 3,500 hectares of land will be given to the cooperative.

Rock for the dike is brought from a nearby mine not by truck but by a conveyor belt operating round the clock. The director of the mine, Kim Ben Song, is pleased with the rate of progress and the new technology. The benefits are evident. The belt saves fuel, and rock does not have to be piled in waste heaps: in Korea every inch of land is valuable. As an engineer he finds it heartening that as a young man he was one of the geologists who discovered these iron ore deposits with a fairly large ore content (about 55 per cent). The ore is delivered to the Hwanghae Steel Plant, at the same time helping to win more and more land from the sea.

Kim Ben Song told us that the dike being built near a spring will be part of a vast Nampho system.

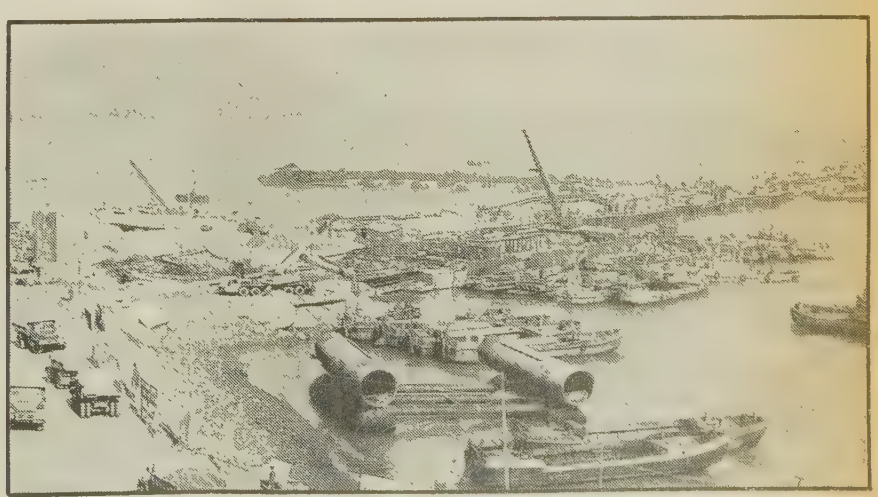
What are the benefits that will accrue from damming the Taedongan? To begin with, new tracts of land on the west coast will be irrigated. The power industry will get a filip. The Taedongan will be navigable over a stretch of 200 kilometres and will be able to carry millions of tons of cargo. The roads and railways that will run along the dam will greatly shorten the distance between the capital and the southern provinces. The new dam will ensure Pyongyang and the adjacent areas against flooding during the summer monsoon period (changma). The reservoir will also provide fresh water for industries and many towns and villages.

Such an economy needs to be run with skill. That is why so much attention is paid to training and retraining engineering and technical personnel. I was told how refresher courses are organized during my visit to the Pyongyang Institute of National Economy. The regimen is strict. Pat Taek, director of an integrated building trust from a northern province, told me laughingly that he could not even phone his work to ask how things were going.

"They tell me to study and not be distracted."

The Nampho dam under construction.

Photo from the magazine Korea



"What brings you to the institute in the first place?"

"I graduated a long time ago," says Pat Taek. "I must upgrade my knowledge. We study modern methods of economic management. I am learning many new things. We in our province are modernizing a steel plant and introducing the cost-accounting system. I am trying to get a grasp of the theory so as to be able to use it in our plant. I have to pass tests periodically. Before me, the trust's chief engineer came here for a refresher course. While we are here, we keep our salary and get free board. There is nothing to distract us from our studies."

After our talk the director went to a computer class for practical training. Kim Li, director of a phosphate mine, told me that he was concentrating on new developments in mining technology.

The institute has 80 auditoria covering almost all branches of the economy. There are many mock-ups and pieces of real-life equipment. One of the rooms, used by fishery workers, displays all the species found in the seas that wash the Korean peninsula. Another room acquaints you with the methods used to minimize damage from typhoons and floods.

Today the D.P.R.K. is engaged in a life of peaceful endeavour. It needs peace and tranquillity. The division of Korea is a genuine tragedy for its people. I have often heard words of thanks addressed to the Soviet Union which ardently supports all the efforts the D.P.R.K. is making to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. The government and the people of the D.P.R.K. seek to settle this problem without outside interference by signing a peace treaty to replace the armistice agreement, adopting a no-attack declaration between North and South, reducing the armed forces of both sides, stopping military exercises and turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone.

These initiatives meet with understanding and support from all those who cherish peace and the security of nations. The Soviet people have always identified themselves with the righteous cause of the Korean people.

E. SPEKHOV

Twilight of the Dictatorship

VITALY SOBOLEV

Like his idol Adolf Hitler, Augusto Pinochet claims eternity for his regime. The dictator is preparing a Latin American version of the "thousand-year Reich" for the Chilean people. The similarity between the two fascist regimes is emerging in ever bolder relief, as is that between their leaders. Even Pinochet's two-storey underground bunker seems to owe its existence less to practical necessity than to his mania for imitating the fuehrer.

Of course, Pinochet's borrowed mannerism of placing his hand under the breast of his jacket can be dismissed as mere playacting, but his oracles concerning the fairly remote future do deserve serious discussion. To be sure, here too he cannot refrain from theatrical stunts. For instance, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, he treated the assembled press, and hence the nation and the world, to a demonstration of his physical prowess. He ran and jumped and lifted weights before the cameras—with obvious political implications. Still, Western correspondents in Santiago were sceptical: was it really wise, at his age, to tempt fate and reach out so far, declaring his intention to stay on in power until 1997 and probably longer? Of course, what matters is not the strength of Pinochet's limbs, but the physical condition, as it were, of the dictatorial regime. How long can it withstand the pressure being brought to bear on it?

In the thirteen years of its existence, since September 11, 1973, the dictatorship has become increasingly senescent. The monies raised on the sale of state-owned property have been frittered away. The billions extended to the dictator by his U.S. and other patrons have vanished without trace—apart, that is, from Chile's foreign debt, the biggest per capita debt in Latin America. Many of Pinochet's former cronies and associates are now keeping aloof or have gone over to the opposition. General Roberto Viaux, a fellow graduate of the military academy, the Chilean magazine Apsi says, was even bold enough to write to Pinochet, giving him, with the frankness of a friend, this advice: "The country is fast drifting into chaos. You can perform an act of supreme self-sacrifice by renouncing power for the good of Chile." His present junta associates too are showing less loyalty to the boss and increasingly often offer themselves as successors to the Presidency. Air Force chief Fernando Matthei Aubel refuses to use the troops under his command for the suppression of anti-Pinochet demonstrations, which have assumed an unprecedented scale in the last few years. In fact, he has even transferred his troops from the environs of the capital further south. He has also had the courage publicly to approve the national accord on the transition to full democracy signed by the opposition bourgeois parties. If even members of the junta are openly critical, is anybody left at all whom the dictator can trust?

There certainly is. After all, the foreign billions that left no tangible trace on the economy did land somewhere—and, one may assume, not only in the safes of supranational monopolies. Admittedly, the support of fellow criminals can never be absolutely relied upon, but as long as Pinochet is in power those who line their pockets with his help can look forward to more pickings. What keeps the dictator's lieutenants together even more than material interest is their bloody complicity in crime. The burning alive of two students by troops during the July general strike is fresh proof of this.

Those who doused the young boy and girl with petrol and set them on fire are not humans, of course. But even these fiends must have had a sense of self-preservation and some sort of notions about their own future. It takes the cool head of a doctor or lawyer to analyze the thinking behind the butchers' behaviour. Over the years of Pinochet's dictatorship, the cadres of his security forces have had sufficient time and practice to develop their

sadistic inclinations. But as a rule, they tortured patriots in secret dungeons, without witnesses, and with the prisoners blindfolded so that they would not afterwards recognize their torturers. Now, however, they perpetrated their atrocious brutality in the street, in the presence of passersby, for everyone to see. The perpetrators are known by name.

What were the butchers counting on when perpetrating such a crime in broad daylight in the presence of witnesses? Presumably on impunity, both now and in the future.

As a young lieutenant, under other dictators, Pinochet served at Pisagua, Chile's first concentration camp, and was thus able personally to try out the relevant nazi experience. But it was not the sentimental memories of his youth that caused him to allow the over-zealous guardians of his regime to go unpunished. Pinochet depends for his survival on blind menials like these who will not shrink from any excesses and are prepared to go with him to the very end.

His other props are his U.S. patrons. It is common knowledge that it was Washington that helped him into the presidential chair. The CIA, the State Department and other U.S. government services aided and abetted the overthrow of Salvador Allende and the installation of the reactionary general in the Casa de la Moneda. But the same agencies can also lend a hand—Duvalier and Marcos could testify to this—to strengthen the blow that knocks an incumbent out of the said chair. However, the U.S. Administration continues to support Pinochet. One should not pay too much attention to the words of censure occasionally heard from Washington in connection with the sadistic outrages perpetrated by the security forces, or to the threats to stop the flow of foreign funds to Chile. Uncle Sam is only slightly tightening the reins in order to induce his protégé to maintain a modicum of decency and show "flexibility." Nor should one exaggerate the significance of the occasional verbal outbursts of the Chilean dictator, who is fond of expatiating on his independence of external forces. Was it not for the sake of his Washington patrons that he set up, in June, his "commission on human rights" (attached to the Ministry of the Interior), a move which did not fail to win him their applause? And was it not for their sake that some of the bars were lifted on "freedom of the press" for the right-wing bourgeois opposition? A spot of public bickering serves the propaganda interests of both the U.S. Administration and the dictatorship. And their political interests keep them together.

Why Pinochet needs Washington's backing is clear enough, and what Washington needs Pinochet for is no secret either. Central Committee member of the Chilean Communist Party Luis Guastavino puts it thus: "The U.S. would get rid of the dictator if there were a political leader or party available that might neutralize the left-wing opposition, particularly the Communists."

Washington officials admit that the U.S. Administration's main concern is how to neutralize the Chilean left. They speak of this concern openly so as to be heard by the right-wing bourgeois quarters in Chile who are looking for a compromise. Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, says: "There is no question that the Communists are a significant force in Chile, representing something like one quarter of the electorate. That's really a problem." No, it is not people being burnt alive in the streets, not the police atrocities, not the long night of the dictatorship, that worries the U.S. Administration.

Breaking up a student demonstration in Santiago.

TASS photo

What it regards as a problem is the broad support the Chilean people give the Communist Party. That support grew throughout the period of the Popular Unity government and the years of the heroic underground struggle. The U.S. Administration is taking measures to resolve the "problem." There is a steady traffic in emissaries between Washington and Santiago who seek to arrange contacts between the dictator and the right-wing opposition and preclude unity between the right and the left or even their joint actions. Abrams in person, members of his staff, many U.S. legislators and private citizens with government assignments are bending over backwards to prevent the opponents of the dictatorship from acting in concert. Abrams' deputy, Robert Gelbard, the Chilean newspaper Tercera writes, declared that the Chilean opposition could not ask for U.S. cooperation in restoring democracy as long as it failed to take a clear-cut stand vis-à-vis the Communist Party.

But in attempting to impose on Chile the kind of order that suits Washington best, U.S. officials, like Pinochet, refuse to see the realities. By contrast, those who really want democracy restored in the country cannot, whatever their political views, ignore a party that, according to the most conservative estimate, has the backing of a quarter of the population. Life has shown that the dictator can only be toppled by the combined efforts of all Chileans.

This year saw the establishment of the National Civil Assembly. Formed at the peak of a series of powerful popular anti-dictatorship demonstrations, it is the largest association of Chile's democratic public organizations—trade unions, peasant, youth and women's associations, as well as those grouping intellectuals and members of the professions—and to all practical purposes unites nine tenths of the population. Both the Assembly and the Communists are prepared to accept as an alternative a military government without Pinochet that could carry out the necessary democratic reforms. It will be recalled that in neighbouring Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, parliamentary elections were held under military governments and power handed over to civilian cabinets.

Pinochet himself will hear nothing of this. On the one hand, he must shudder at the thought of meeting with retribution for his crimes, the fate of his Argentine colleagues serving as a grim warning to him. On the other, his U.S. patrons periodically boost his flagging spirits with assurances that they have not written him off like Duvalier or Marcos. As recently as last month, General John Galvin, chief of the U.S. Southern Command (which has its headquarters in Panama), declared during a visit to Santiago that the Pentagon wanted closer ties between U.S.

and Chilean armed forces. In view of the part the Chilean army plays in the political life of the country, one cannot regard such ties as purely professional. And U.S. Ambassador to Santiago Harry Barnes, according to the Argentine magazine Periodista, said without mincing his words that so far the United States was not interested in the overthrow of Pinochet. The magazine interprets this as meaning that, given certain political adjustments, the present system in Chile provides adequate guarantees to U.S. investors.

But for all Washington's support and his own machine of suppression, Pinochet in his heart of hearts has little faith in the "thousand-year Reich." Evidence of this are his open and secret preparations for the worst to come, from the monumental concrete walls surrounding his private bunker to the unceremonious haste with which he and his family are embezzling national property. A trial held by representatives of the public in Caracas last year established that the dictator's bank assets topped the $1,000 million mark long ago. His daughter, Lucia, has been dubbed Señora 5 Per Cent, this being the rate she charges for legalizing underhand business deals. Even more symptomatic is Pinochet's search of a refuge for a rainy day—not a simple problem at all, nowadays. It seems he hopes to take shelter in South Africa or seek hospitality from his neighbour, the Paraguayan dictator Stroessner (Pinochet has bought a villa in Paraguay). But South Africa is being rocked by anti-racist demonstrations, and Paraguay is no longer as safe as it used to be, for it was there that patriots executed Somoza, the deposed Nicaraguan dictator on the run.

To ward off the inevitable, Pinochet is not merely resisting change, but building up his machine of suppression to maintain a reign of terror. Restoring democracy in Chile will take an extremely intense struggle and sacrifice. The pitch of the fight is rising monthly and daily. It is being waged in different forms, including armed struggle. Every new mass action by those opposed to the dictatorship strengthens their unity and cohesion. A fresh series of nationwide demonstrations, including a political strike, is planned for the first half of September. The strike took place on September 4, traditionally the day of presidential elections in Chile. On that day, in 1970, Salvador Allende was elected President. With his memory and that of the other victims of the bloody military coup of September 11, 1973, fresh in their hearts, the Chilean people are launching assault after assault on the hateful dictatorship to overthrow Pinochet. They have the solidarity and sympathy of honest people the world over.

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IN OUR COLUMNS FORTY YEARS AGO

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Certain quarters in the United States have recently been showing increased interest in the Mediterranean, especially the eastern part. This takes the form not only of economic penetration but also of military activity, as evidenced by the presence of American troops in a number of Middle Eastern countries and a U.S. naval buildup in the region. The purport of this activity is clear.

"The Eastern Mediterranean ... constitutes a place where the United States, by building its sea and air power, can most surely compel and induce the Kremlin to negotiate a general world settlement," the New York Herald Tribune wrote recently.

Obviously, what is implied by "a general world settlement" is a settlement of international issues on lines dictated by the U.S. The champions of U.S. imperialism have openly blurted out plans to establish U.S. world domination by "building its sea and air power" in regions that have no bearing whatever on the defence of the United States but a very direct bearing on the defence of other countries, in particular that of the Soviet Union. **(No. 18, September 15, 1946.)**

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The New York Herald Tribune's Washington correspondent Metcalfe has learned from State Department sources that the Administration is devising far-reaching plans to "combat the growing threat of communism within the Western Hemisphere." Washington's new policy of eradicating communism in Latin America, Metcalfe says, provides for extensive military, cultural and economic activity.

Attempts to eradicate communist ideas by police measures not only in one's own country but also in other sovereign states are not new. They are too fresh in the minds of the present generation to necessitate any reminder of where they emanated from only a short while ago. The tattered banner of militant anti-communism served as a screen for a crusade against all democrats, and for a predatory, imperialist policy. **(No. 18, September 15, 1946.)**

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The Soviet-Afghan border agreement has been welcomed by democrats the world over as one more proof of the Soviet government's unwavering policy of strengthening friendly relations with neighbouring countries. However, good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are not to the liking of certain elements in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Prompted by these elements, the Indian National Herald carried a fabricated story alleging that as a result of the Soviet-Afghan agreement "the northern provinces of Afghanistan are to go to the Soviet Union."

The authors of this fabrication evidently hoped to cause uneasiness in Afghanistan and mislead the public. With the same end in view, right-wing newspapers in Britain and then in the United States quickly commented on Afghan affairs.

The main purpose of the malicious rumours spread about the U.S.S.R. in connection with the Soviet-Afghan agreement is to vilify the policy of the Soviet Union. **(No. 17, September 1, 1946.)**

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Since the end of the war U.S. and British industrial magnates have been hastening to restore their old business ties with Europe. Sensational reports have appeared in the world press, revealing that Anglo-Saxon industrialists are buying up shares in European firms, that deals—real and fictitious—are being transacted in the occupied countries, including Germany and Austria, and that factories formerly owned by war criminals and liable to sequestration or confiscation are being concealed behind the signboards of U.S. or British firms. **(No. 17, September 1, 1946.)**

■

"Plus ça change, plus ça reste le même." The more things change, the more everything stays the same—is a saying that can well be used to describe the present-day situation in Japan. The industrial tycoons and big landlords still retain their positions in the economy and the government machine of the country. Japanese reactionaries are again becoming active and going on the offensive with the obvious connivance and even support of the U.S. occupation authorities. U.S. reactionaries make no secret of their intention to preserve Japanese militarism and turn Japan into a base for gambles of every kind. **(No. 17, September 1, 1946.)**

Nazism Without the Swastika

From time to time the world is shocked by political assassinations. But often enough they remain a mystery, even when the victim is a prominent personality, and it is not difficult to see from what quarter of the political spectrum the blow is likely to have been struck. The police investigation often comes up against insurmountable obstacles. One of the latest and most striking instances is the murder of the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme.

But it also happens that during investigations sidelights are revealed which, though not valid evidence under the criminal code, nevertheless provide ample food for thought.

In the given case the Swedish police apprehended 32-year-old Victor Gunnarson who turned out to be a member of an organization that calls itself the European Working Party. This political group repeatedly attacked Palme and his policy, levelling direct threats both against him and others in Western Europe who shared his views. It has been established that besides Sweden the European Working Party in one form or another also exists in other Western countries—the F.R.G., France and the United States.

The Stockholm investigators disclosed very little: Gunnarson was released after a few days in custody presumably because Swedish legal authorities did not consider the evidence against him sufficient. Nevertheless, there are enough grounds for taking a closer look at this political organization which suddenly became the focus of public attention. The following information obtained by New Times correspondents in a number of countries and by other informed quarters sheds more light on the subject.

First, the starting point of our investigation. From the Swedish press.

On March 12, 1986, the Stockholm police arrested Victor Gunnarson and charged him with "complicity in the crime." The detainee—his full name is Okke Lennart Victor Gunnarson—proved to be a member of a right-wing extremist organization styling itself the European Working Party. This was confirmed among other things by a letter written on an EWP letterhead with a 1984 dateline. Shortly before the assassination of Palme, Gunnarson is reported to have said that "Palme is on the list of those condemned to death and soon blood will flow on the streets of Stockholm" (Svenska Dagbladet). In an interview with the Stockholm Aftonbladet, Gunnarson's ex-wife said he considered the U.S.A. an angel and the Soviet Union the devil, and that Palme was "handing Sweden over to the devil."

In recent years the EWP had openly threatened Palme. It made no secret of its intentions to "put an end to Palme's cooperation with the U.S.S.R." The Finnish newspaper Kansan Uutiset reported that more than ten years ago the EWP had spied on the meeting in Sweden between Olof Palme and the present Prime Minister of Finland Kalevi Sorsa, and that the organization has a file on Palme and Sorsa. The Danish B.T. newspaper said that Gunnarson had been in Denmark when Olof Palme was visiting that country.

At our request Nikolai Vukolov, TASS correspondent in Stockholm, sent us the following information on EWP activity in Sweden.

When the initials EWP first appeared in the press it transpired that the authorities and the police were well informed about this "right extremist organization," as the press described it. The more so since its members acted in the open, publicly expressing views even a cursory examination of which leaves no doubt as to their character.

The professed purpose of the EWP is to "save Sweden." From whom? The Soviet Union. How? "Sweden must join the NATO bloc at once."

I once had occasion to observe these newly-fledged saviours at work. Near the entrance to one of the biggest department stores in Stockholm two men set up a table under a broad awning right on the pavement in the midst of the crowds of shoppers. Attached to the table was the slogan: "NATO is our protection against the Soviets! Sign this petition!" It is not difficult to guess the source of such ideas. Washington and the ruling circles of the North Atlantic alliance constantly speak of a mythical "Soviet threat" in an effort to draw neutral Sweden into the sphere of their own military preparations on the European North. The EWP is a zealous proponent of the overseas fabrications. It fully supports Reagan's "star wars" programme. At one time it even called for the deployment of the neutron weapon in Sweden.

The domestic political sympathies of the EWP are no secret either. Its hatred of the late head of the Swedish government, and specifically of the policy he pursued, is common knowledge. How much abuse was poured on Palme simply because he clearly realized the importance of promoting good-neighbourly relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union. Unpleasant though it is to repeat such slanderous sallies against the late Prime Minister, we shall nevertheless cite some of them in order to give the reader some idea of the EWP lexicon. "Palme is a traitor to Sweden!", "Stop Palme's toadying to the Soviet Union!", "Palme must go so that democracy can triumph in the country." These are only a few of the epithets scattered liberally over EWP

leaflets and its newspaper Ny Solidaritet (New Solidarity).

The EWP mounted a smear campaign against the Premier. It put out posters and caricatures in which Palme was likened to Hitler and Mussolini. Its rowdies staged disturbances during the Prime Minister's public appearances. The EWP went so far as to accuse Palme of being responsible for the death of Alva Myrdal—a ridiculous charge considering that, as everyone in Sweden knows, relations of the greatest mutual respect existed between the late Premier and the former head of the Swedish delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference and one of the most prominent figures in the postwar political life of the country.

The EWP in its subversive activity is guided by the dictum—the end justifies the means. One of its "ends" was to split the Social Democratic movement, discredit it and clear the way for the ultra-right. It vilified Social Democratic and trade union leaders and infiltrated its agents into the ranks of the Social Democrats.

But the EWP does not always use crude and primitive methods. To win popularity it feigns a keen interest in topical social issues and, as the Aftonbladet put it, "it tries to gain a foothold in the economy, schools and scientific research circles." For instance, it takes an active part in the discussion of problems relating to the use of nuclear energy. It has set up an anti-narcotics society and has even started the publication of a newspaper entitled Stop Drug Addiction. Another EWP subsidiary is the Academy for Humanistic Studies which campaigns against pop music.

These tactics, the Expressen says, have enabled the party to win over "people who under different circumstances would have nothing to do with such an organization." One example of these tactics is the Executive Intelligence Review put out by the EWP for the business world. Among its subscribers are prominent Swedish businessmen. The paper is a source of income for the party which has branches in Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö, Jönköping, i.e., all the country's biggest cities. Where such a small party derives such substantial funds, however, is wrapped in secrecy. The Aftonbladet mentions the CIA in this connection. That the EWP has contacts with that organization is evident also from a study made by faculty members of Stockholm University, which, among other things, says that former CIA director William Colby admitted at a congressional hearing that prior to 1974 the EWP had received up to $100,000 annually to finance the publication of New Solidarity.

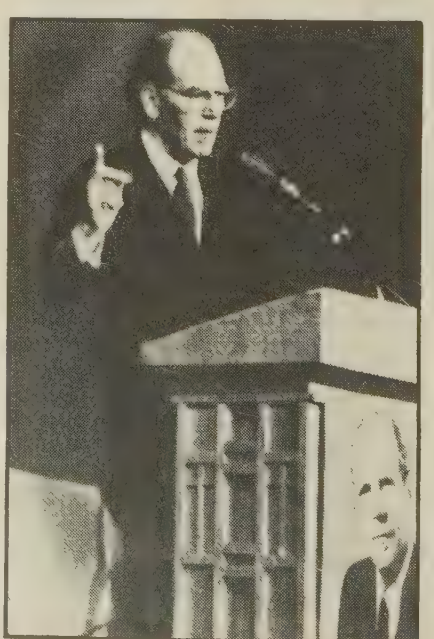
The Bonn correspondent of New Times Alexander Tolpegin collected this information about the activity of the European Working Party in the F.R.G.

A poster depicting an American space station intercepting a Soviet missile carried the message "safeguard peace with space weapons" and invited all who desired more information on this score to telephone to the Wiesbaden headquarters of the European Working Party. I did so. After asking my name, address and telephone number, a woman's voice at the other end of the line advised me to call again "in a week's time, better two weeks." However, my second attempt to make an appointment with someone who could tell me at first hand why a "European" and a "working" party was such a zealous advocate of American space weapons ended in failure.

The EWP does not like newsmen to take an interest in its affairs. And newsmen who persist in their curiosity often find themselves in unpleasant situations. A reporter from the Social Democratic weekly Vorwärts came home one day to find that his files had been tampered with: only one folder was missing—the one with data on the international contacts of the EWP. And a Cologne journalist, Mathias Schulenburg, received threatening phone calls after his radio broadcast about the EWP.

The EWP appeared on the F.R.G. political scene in the early seventies.

American "democracy" gives Lyndon LaRouche a free hand to propound racial hatred.



Its statutes and programme abound in vague abstractions. According to the statutes, the purpose of the European Working Party is "to build the F.R.G. on the basis of scientific and technological progress, as a humanitarian democratic republic." Its programme waxes eloquent about continuing "the great humanistic traditions of Europe personified by Plato, St. Augustine, Dante, Leibnitz and others." But it is not St. Augustine that is to protect Europe and the rest of the world against the threat hanging over them but the U.S. and NATO. "The might of America, its well-nigh unlimited scientific and technological potentialities can bring happiness to all humanity," the programme says. "The Federal Republic should do its share by strengthening the Atlantic alliance."

That such ideas could have figured in the programme of this "European" party is not altogether surprising, considering that the spiritual father and ideologue of the West German EWP, founded in 1974, and of similar groups in other countries is the American Lyndon LaRouche who said he held the "destiny of the world" in his hands. The EWP, which is now headed by the wife of the American "prophet," Helga Zepp-LaRouche, a German by birth, cannot boast of any particular political successes. Its electoral support is insignificant. According to the local press, it has a membership of no more than 250-350. It is often likened to a sect because of its fanaticism and its "fuehrer cult." The party's slogans are a weird mixture ranging from slanderous attacks on Willy Brandt to accusing Queen Elizabeth of smuggling narcotics and from eulogy of SDI to the pouring of invective on the Rockefellers.

But the EWP is not only a handful of fanatics, it is a whole network of organizations functioning under the most diverse labels. Among these are the Private Academy for Humanistic Studies (founded in 1977), the Schiller Institute (1984), the Anti-Drug Coalition (1979), the Club of Life (1982) and the Nuclear Energy Forum (1975). The EWP also has its own information services. Nearly all of these organizations, like the party headquarters, are located in Wiesbaden.

What kind of organizations are these? The above-mentioned journalist Mathias Schulenburg maintains that the Nuclear Energy Forum established close contacts with scientists who designed "miracle weapons" for Hitler. One of these is Professor Erich Bagge, who worked on the creation of the atom bomb, and after the war headed the Institute of Pure and Applied Nuclear Physics at the Kiel University. His pupil Professor Winterberg wrote a

book which was put out by the Forum's publishers about how easy it is to make an atom bomb if you have the know-how. In his radio broadcast, Schulenburg voiced the assumption that the EWP is the "only extremist sect that knows how to make a hydrogen bomb."

The Schiller Institute founded in 1984 is a strong proponent of SDI. Unlike other EWP institutions, it is located not in Wiesbaden, but in Hanover, and has four departments: military strategy, economic and scientific cooperation, culture, and history. The institute operates on a grand scale. It does not confine itself to the Federal Republic, to hold international conferences, to finance numerous propaganda institutions and to publish so much printed matter? A representative of the Social Democratic Party of Germany once said that the EWP was a cover for "a Western secret service engaging in systematic disinformation." The International Herald Tribune, published in Paris, was more explicit: it said the CIA had contacts with LaRouche. The EWP actually had family connections with the F.R.G. secret service: Anno Hellenbroich, vice-chairman of the EWP, happens to be the brother of Heribert Hellenbroich who for a long time headed the West German Department for Safeguarding the Constitution.

Aus Liebe zu Deutschland:

Wählen Sie Patrioten

„Das ist nicht des Deutschen Größe
Obzusiegen mit dem Schwert,
In das Geisterreich zu dringen,
Vorurteile zu besiegen.
Männlich mit dem Wahn zu kriegen,
Das ist seines Eifers wert.

Höhern Sieg hat der errungen
Der der Wahrheit Blitz geschwungen,
Der die Geister selbst befreit.
Freiheit der Vernunft erfechten
Heißt für alle Völker rechten,
Gilt für alle ew'ge Zeit."

Friedrich

Wir Patrioten für Deutschland glauben fest daran, daß das deutsche Volk die innere moralische Kraft besitzt, mit der die Bundesrepublik heute bedrohenden existentiellen Krise fertigzu werden.

Es gibt heute Kräfte, die nach dem Modell der Endphase der Weimarer Republik versuchen, unser Staatssystem durch Gewalt und Terror zu stürzen. Wir befinden uns heute in einer schwereren Wirtschaftskrise als in den [illegible] auch wenn sich mancher noch illusionistischen dieser Wirtschaftskrise [illegible] Parteien [illegible]

und stehe der großen Kulturnationen dieser Welt. Wir haben unend lich viel zur Entwicklung der Menschheitsfamilie beigetragen durch den universalen Beitrag unserer klassischen Musik und Dichtung und die auch naturwissenschaftlichen Leistungen unserer Naturwissenschaftler, die alle Völker dieser Erde bereichert haben.

Wir sind stolz auf diese Traditionen auf Beethoven, Schiller, von Humboldt, Stein, Scharnhorst oder Gauß. Wir glauben fest daran, daß die Vernunft in unserem Volk stärker ist, als die Irrationalität. Wir sind entschlossen zu verhindern, daß Deutschlands Rolle in der Weltgeschichte [illegible] der Wiederholung des Untergangs der Weimarer Republik [illegible] hohen Menschheitsideal, das [illegible] geprägt hat. In diesem Ge [illegible] Entwicklung der We

die Bonner Regierung versprochen, aber nic dieser Wahlsieg der Patrioten ist zweifellos au wir haben, um der Finnlandisierung und sch — und damit dem Verlust der Freiheit für W

Niedersachsen ist die vorderste Verteidigun westlichen Zivilisation!

Geben Sie den Patrioten Ihre Stimme, un höchster Not, das Schicksal der Bundesrep tung zu lenken!

Aus Liebe zu Deu
Wählen S

The nazis without the swastika speculate on people's respect for the name of Schiller and pose as "patriots" in order to win public support in the F.R.G.

but sponsors conferences and symposiums in other West European countries and the United States. The first such conference was held in 1985 in the U.S. state of Virginia and was attended by delegates from 50 countries. Then there was a "trade union conference" in Mexico and another conference in Rome which brought together 800 people.

Herman Rebhan, General Secretary of the International Metalworkers' Federation, in an interview for Vorwärts, described the activities of the EWP and the Schiller Institute as "anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, racist and anti-trade union." He warned trade union functionaries not to participate in seminars sponsored by the institute, stressing that many trade unionists did not know who was behind it.

From where did a party with barely three hundred members get the money

In late October 1985 a new grouping appeared on the political scene. The right-wing newspapers carried full-page advertisements placed by "Patriots of Germany." What did they propound? The speedy conclusion of an official agreement on the participation of the F.R.G. in SDI (such an agreement, as we know, was signed this spring), and the strengthening of the alliance with the U.S. They were against the revival of détente and called for preventing the "red-green friends of Moscow" from getting into government. To offset this they advocated combating drug addiction and also "technological renewal."

It was not difficult to discern the EWP behind the "Patriots of Germany," for one of signatures on the advertisement was that of Zepp-LaRouche. This time the EWP lined up with such people as Professor Emil Schlee, chairman of a revanchist association, retired Bundeswehr general Friedrich Grunewald, and other retired Bundeswehr officers—Adolf Zenker, former inspector of the Navy, and Paul Scherer, onetime chief of military counterintelligence. After meeting LaRouche, Zenker praised him highly for being a staunch adherent of a "strong Western union."

The "Patriots" contested the recent Land election in Lower Saxony and intend to name candidates for the 1987 elections to the Bundestag.

● **An idea of the activity of the EWP in France can be obtained from an article by Bernard Brigouleix in the Paris Le Monde. The author begins by describing a Bonn-Washington-Paris "political triangle."**

...Beethovenplatz in Bonn on a Saturday morning in winter. Were it not for the Bavarian brass band, it could be a scene on the Grands Boulevards in Paris, at Dallas Airport or in the pedestrian precinct in Rome. The attention of the throngs of shoppers is drawn to a speaker who appears to be discoursing on some pleasant topics. Around him is a group of activists waving posters and streamers issued by the Club of Life, the Schiller Institute and the European Working Party. The slogans read: "Yes to the beam weapon," "Strengthen solidarity with the United States," "Long live industrial growth," "Feed the Third World."

...Rue Nollet, in the 17th arrondissement of Paris. A two-storey building, not luxurious but quite respectable looking. The interior reminds one of the headquarters of a medium-bracket party which is not particularly prosperous but has definitely grown beyond the do-it-yourself stage of poky unheated premises and volunteer helpers. Two recent bomb explosions (the culprits are still unknown) caused considerable damage to the premises.

The ground floor of the building across the street is occupied by a print-shop manned by professional printers. On the walls are tables and diagrams showing the growing influence of the European Working Party in France and other countries, of the Schiller Institute, and the various publications put out by that organization. They also afford some idea of the influx of new members into the party and also of its income. Here too are announcements of coming demonstrations and of lectures by the owner of the building, the brilliant Jacques Cheminade. A teletype clatters nearby, receiving a brief review of the world daily press. And in a small room next door, three or four young people

are busy telephoning all day long to sympathizers who have given their phone numbers.

...Washington. Thousands of people are gathered in front of the Capitol. This is quite a large crowd, although the U.S. capital has witnessed bigger demonstrations. This crowd has gathered at the call of the Schiller Institute to demand, among other things, a "new international economic order." There are also other demands, including "Feed Africa" and "Develop a Beam Weapon."

Bonn, Paris, Washington. It is difficult not to see here the three corners of that mysterious Bermuda Triangle in which so many attempted investigations have foundered.

Jacques Cheminade is an intriguing figure. A graduate of the Ecole d'Administration, at one time he occupied a high post in the Ministry for Economics and Finance, and in 1972-77 was with the French trade mission in New York. He is 44. He is a man of encyclopedic knowledge, fluent in several foreign languages, and fond of travelling. He is also a gifted writer. An interesting conversationalist and a good listener, a passionate debater, he also has a sense of humour. A Parisian to his fingertips,

A leaflet circulated by LaRouche followers in the F.R.G. says: "Ensure Peace with Space Weapons."

he nevertheless did not shrink from the difficulties of the election campaign in crisis-ridden Lorraine or Puy-de-Dôme where his opponent was Giscard d'Estaing.

A characteristic feature of the EWP is its tendency to see sinister machinations everywhere. On January 29 of this year Cheminade informed the Commission on Information and Liberties about "a financial operation on an international scale" being carried out by the FBI with the assistance of "a centre located on foreign territory." The operation involved manipulation with the international system of credit cards with the object of preventing EWP supporters from donating money to the party, he said. Lyndon LaRouche accused the FBI of "mounting a criminal campaign" against him and his associates and those of his wife; he also accused the FBI of having "stolen over $290,000 of his election campaign funds in collaboration with some drug smuggler operating in Latin America and the Caribbean."

Now that we have learned something about the activity of the EWP in three West European countries, it is time to turn our attention to the centre of the organization which is located in the United States. Let us hear what Yuri Oleshchuk, of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, has to say.

Until recently a similar party (minus the adjective "European") existed in the United States. It actually nominated its candidates for President. In 1976, for instance, that candidate was the aforementioned Lyndon LaRouche, who polled 40,000 votes. In 1980 LaRouche raised more than $2 million to contest the Democratic Party primaries, and in the 1984 presidential elections he ran in 18 states and the District of Columbia and polled 78,773 votes.

The political career of Lyndon LaRouche is not without interest. He began as a Trotskyite and later became a die-hard conservative. Typical of his "pronouncements" is his contention that he holds the fate of the world in his hands and is aware of the terrible responsibility that entails. Or his statement that you don't need to wear a brown shirt to be a fascist; you don't need to call yourself a fascist, you can simply be one.

All this has given the American political scientist Irving Horowitz grounds to say that the activities of Lyndon LaRouche's group clearly show in what form fascism could come to America. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark shares this view. That group, he says, breeds fascist-type sentiment. And the journalist Dennis King called the members of the EWP "nazis without the swastika." "LaRouche's aim," King wrote, "is to build a worldwide movement, and the United States and Germany are the main centres of his activity."

Brigouleix, whose article we have cited above, describes his meeting with LaRouche thus. "This 60-year-old man, now foaming at the mouth, now honey-tongued (especially when he appears on television) is capable of fulminating in one breath against the exploitation of the misfortunes of the Third World (which makes this newly-fledged millionaire sound like a radical) and against the 'Jewish bankers of the City' which conjures up very different associations. An eternal aspirant for the American Democratic Party nomination, he is an ardent champion of Reagan's strategic initiatives." It is a well-known fact that LaRouche stands for stepping up the arms race, believing it essential to increase the nuclear might of the United States. He is all for SDI, with the emphasis on the nuclear component deployed in outer space.

The American press regards LaRouche as a rabid anti-Semite. He maintains that the Jews slandered Hitler by ascribing to him the mass extermination of the Jews, which supposedly never happened. He sees world history and international politics as a chain of sinister conspiracies with the participation primarily of the Jews but also the International Monetary Fund, the Rockefellers, the Jesuits and Henry Kissinger personally.

For the general public he has "simpler" demands. For instance, it is proposed that the entire U.S. population be screened for AIDS. LaRouche and his followers call for severe punishment for drug pushers. They promise that if they get into government they will set up tribunals all over the country to try "traitors" of all kinds. Meanwhile legal action has been taken against LaRouche and his accomplices on charges of fraud and illegal financial operations.

It would seem that some of the points of the LaRouche programme are a fit subject of study for psychiatrists (this opinion has been voiced in the U.S. press). Yet on March 18 this year, in the Democratic primary for the gubernatorial election in Illinois, two LaRouche supporters, Mark Fairchild and Janice Hart, were named as contenders for the posts of vice-governor and state secretary. The candidate for governor, Adlai Stevenson, called them dangerous extremists, fanatics and neofascists.

LaRouche operates through the so-called National Democratic Policy Committee (he is said to have disbanded his "party"). His headquarters is located in Leesburg (Virginia). According to some sources, the National Committee has lined up some 700 candidates for government offices of various kinds. The committee is reported to have candidates in 26 states, among them 14 contenders for seats in the Senate and 6 for gubernatorial posts.

Such, then, is the information New Times has gathered. We asked veteran Soviet journalist Ernst Henry, prominent expert on problems relating to neo-fascism, to comment on it.

New Times: Were your colleagues in the U.S. and the F.R.G. right in describing the members of the European Working Party as "nazis without the swastika"?

Henry: I shall gladly answer that question. But let me first express my opinion on this so-called party. Even without the International Herald Tribune reports and the admission of Mr Colby, the group could be described as a typical product of CIA activity. In my opinion, the EWP is one of the dozens of similar CIA subsidiaries set up in many countries. When necessary this network of agents is used for subversive, including terrorist, operations. The name of the party proves nothing. After all, the Hitlerites called theirs a labour and even a socialist party. Clearly, Mr LaRouche provides the feedbag for dyed-in-the-wool fascists who do not know what to do with themselves and are ready for anything, assassinations included.

The main aim of this network of agents is to counter the mass movement against the arms race, to disorient people and poison their minds.

New Times: But are we not exaggerating the role of the CIA? Are all extremist groups in the West its creations?

Henry: The role of the CIA should not be regarded too simplistically. It should not be forgotten that in recent years U.S. reaction has sharply increased the scale of its operations and extended its network of agents to unprecedented dimensions. Today the CIA considers ordinary political action, ordinary polemics, insufficient. It is out to destroy the adversary. And for this not only money, but personnel is needed.

True, the EWP does not always openly advocate terrorist tactics. But it cultivates the hatred that is essential for the perpetration of terrorist acts. It lays the psychological groundwork for terror.

On the other hand, the CIA does not necessarily always take the initiative: all manner of anti-Communists naturally turn to it, knowing that their actions are bound to find support in Langley. The EWP as such need not necessarily have been conceived at CIA headquarters, but watching political developments in one or another country, say, the F.R.G., the U.S. or Sweden, it makes use of the forms of reactionary activity practised there.

New Times: Perhaps we could put it thus: CIA agents are not necessarily behind every anti-communist and anti-Soviet group, but are ready to make use of any of them.

Henry: Right.

New Times: In the F.R.G. it is widely believed that the EWP is funded by some millionaire.

Henry: There is nothing new in that. Recall the twenties when the nazi party readily collected handouts from millionaires—Krupp, Thyssen, Kierdorf. The attacks levelled at the Rockefellers are not new either. The nazis accepted money from Krupp and at the same time posed as "enemies of the monopolies."

New Times: This brings us back to our first question about "nazis without the swastika." You have mentioned one feature of the fascist movement as such—the support it gets from Big Business.

Henry: Another feature—the demagogy of the EWP directed at the petty bourgeois man in the street—fits this pattern. The nazi party could not have become a mass party had it not resorted to demagogy.

New Times: The EWP, too, uses such demagogic slogans as combating drug addiction and opposition to pop music to win support among the general public. What fascist-type elements would you say are manifest in the EWP?

Henry: The first and most important is anti-communism. This is a feature of any fascist movement. It is an essential symptom for diagnosing fascism.

New Times: Essential but evidently not the only one? We are accustomed to fascist parties being mass organizations. This cannot be said of the EWP. Has the fact that it is not a mass party any decisive bearing on whether it can be qualified as a fascist party or not?

Henry: No. The decisive factor is its policy. Its anti-Soviet, anti-democratic and racist policy. The beginnings are modest. But what happens later? The Italian neofascist party — the Italian Social Movement—National Right Forces—already numbers 400,000 members. And this after the lessons of the war and fascism. France provides another, even more interesting example —here the National Front, which no one took seriously, carried hundreds of thousands of votes in the last election. This is simply frightening.

New Times: But these parties claim they have nothing to do with fascism. In general, to what extent do you consider it justified to divide them into "nazis without the swastika" and the "nazis with the swastika"? Are the two not the one and the same thing?

Henry: In my opinion the demarcation line here is purely formal, dictated by the political realities. Immediately after the war and the collapse of the fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini only the incorrigible idolized them. It was far more fashionable to pose as democrats, to swear fidelity to democratic principles and even to criticize the nazi order. The groups "without the swastika" sprang up in this way. Take LaRouche, for example: he does not want to be called a fascist.

New Times: But more than 40 years have passed since the war.

Henry: Paradoxical as this may seem, the situation now has changed in favour of the "nazis with the swastika": much has been forgotten. Nazi methods and even nazi symbols are gaining currency among a part of youth in the West. In my opinion, however, those who continue to operate without the swastika are more dangerous. These groups constitute a serious and dangerous reserve for international reaction which needs such a reserve, in particular for going over to terrorist tactics. These "fanatical sects" are the most suitable for plotting the assassination of progressive leaders.

* * *

To sum up briefly, groups and organizations like the EWP, even if their complicity in the murder of Olof Palme is not legally proved, are a specific form of the fascism of the late 1980s. As an integral component of the much vaunted "Western democracy," they are in practical terms a tool of the most reactionary forces of international anti-communism. As such these groups are extremely dangerous and must be closely watched by the world public so that their aims and ambitions do not become reality.

Compiled by
L. BEZYMENSKY
and K. ISAKOV

TAKING UP A POINT

Would some competent person answer the following question: what is a "socialist-oriented country"? As I see it, this formula is an artificial one. It is not, perhaps, an invention of serious scholars but of pseudo-intellectuals implementing the social mandate of politicians. According to all the classical models, socialism succeeds capitalism, and not the primitive communal system.

V. KROTOV
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

VLADIMIR IORDANSKY, D. Sc. (Hist.), replies:

In your letter you express doubt as to whether history really allows for the bypassing of the capitalist stage of development. Is not the idea of a "leap" of this kind a scholastic invention which is being artificially imposed on the peoples of the Third World?

I believe that your doubts are groundless for the following reasons.

When the colonial empires collapsed in Asia, Africa and Latin America, capitalism turned out not to have become deeply rooted in a large group of newly independent countries, particularly in Tropical Africa, and several Asian countries. They did not have large industries belonging to local capital, national banks or insurance companies. Even the middle bourgeoisie involved in commerce was foreign in origin, from Lebanon, Greece, Cyprus or the Indian subcontinent. Local, above all rural, society was characterized by survivals of tribal or early feudal relations. Both the working class and the intelligentsia were negligible elements in a vast mass of people that had not been "processed" in the capitalist crucible or subjected to class stratification.

As soon as the leaders of the national liberation movements in the Third World took political power, they were faced with the practical question of whether it would be possible to bypass the prolonged historical stage of capitalist development and save their peoples from the suffering, privations and flagrant injustice of the capitalist system. It follows from this that the question was a product of practical experience. It was not formulated in the abstract in the minds of theoreticians. It would be appropriate to mention that by the time the anti-colonial revolutions occurred in the 1940s-60s several peoples had acquired experience of the direct transition from precapitalist formations to socialism. The people of Mongolia and those inhabiting remote parts of the U.S.S.R. have proved that such a transition is possible.

But many newly independent states had to find their way on their own. For instance, Third World political leaders and statesmen who dreamed of establishing just social relations and building up economies that would be independent of capitalist monopolies asked themselves which sections of the population could become their allies and supporters. To some extent imperialist propaganda succeeded in arousing prejudice against the working class, misrepresenting it as a privileged group. This seriously interfered with the search for a sound social strategy.

History has clarified the issue. Depending on the structure of a society, the degree of class stratification and the tension created by its internal contradictions, the slogans of social justice evoked a response in various social groups, especially among young people, women, the urban unemployed, workers and lower government officials, and also small entrepreneurs.

As these countries developed, the social base of the revolutionary democratic regimes underwent a change. Efforts for economic upbuilding have created a working class or increased it numerically to a marked degree, so that it has begun to play a more important role in socio-political life. The national intelligentsia is exercising a growing influence. In a number of developing countries it only emerged after independence. The strength of revolutionary democratic regimes also largely depends on its influence in the countryside where independence has catalyzed the processes of class stratification.

Newly established people's power has to surmount tremendous difficulties. These include limited resources and funds at the disposal of the state, complex economic and social problems, further stratification of society accompanied by the aggravation of class conflict and mounting resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie and its allies. Nor can you disregard the efforts of the imperialist powers to prevent the shoots of socialist social relations taking root in their erstwhile colonies.

It is true that the governments of countries seeking to realize socialist ideals are not free of error. But you should not ignore the fact that they are pioneers. In many spheres they have had to resort to improvisation and the search for independent solutions. They have been accumulating experience in a context of acute political struggle. The enemies of the revolutionary democrats try to take advantage of even minor miscalculations on their part. For instance, in some cases the reactionaries have been able to win over to their side part of the officer corps and vacillating petty bourgeois groups.... Nevertheless, despite new governments' occasional setbacks, history has time and again reaffirmed that the developing countries have a practical alternative to capitalism. Socialist ideas appeal to millions of people.

The socialist world system has repeatedly helped revolutionary democratic governments in the Third World to overcome the difficulties they face. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given them every possible political and economic assistance. During the last few decades progressive Asian, African and Latin American countries and the socialist world system have established close relations of cooperation, that stood the test of time.

■

The London leg of the Kasparov-Karpov return match for the world chess championship ended with the present title-holder one point ahead. The scene of the tournament has now shifted to Leningrad

Halfway House

DAVID BRONSTEIN,
International Grandmaster

Will Kasparov hold onto the title? Will Karpov regain it? We shall know the answer only after the Leningrad half of the tournament has ended. For the time being Kasparov is one point ahead, after a truly fascinating contest in which every conceivable kind of move was made: daring, cautious, happy, ill-judged. However, it will probably be easier to get an idea of what strategy in Leningrad will be like, if we cast a retrospective glance at the London encounter.

Though the three first games were drawn, this was only a superficially peaceful result. Karpov played white twice, but failed to mount a proper offensive. In the second game Kasparov, now playing white, had secured a considerable advantage by the endgame with only his carelessness on move 39 robbing him of a well-deserved win. Indeed, had he moved his Rook, Karpov would have had to acknowledge defeat.

Of course it is far easier to see the situation from the sideline, as even contenders of championship rank miss much in the heat of the game.

During the second week, the tempo speeded up with one game being won by each player. Though the third game ended in a draw it is well worth detailed analysis.

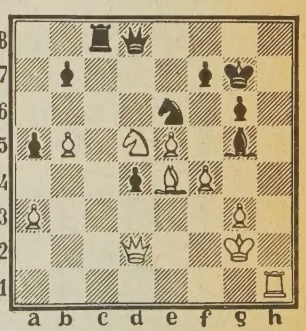
From the dawn of chess, players have liked to open by 1. e2-e4. Today's grandmasters are no exception and Kasparov began the sixth game with this move. Karpov answered 1. e7-e5, Kasparov 2. Ktg1-f3. The usual response here is 2. Ktb8-c6 but Karpov answered 2. Ktg8-f6, named after the two Russian grandmasters, Alexander Petrov and Carl Jaenisch. The opening is often called Petrov's game and owes its popularity to the theoretical research of these two notable exponents of chess.

In 1824 Alexander Petrov produced a chess manual in a limited edition. The famous 19th-century Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, who was extremely fond of chess, owned two copies one of which had been presented to him by Petrov himself.

Interestingly enough, both Kasparov and Karpov injected pepper into this seemingly peaceful opening. Fine combinations followed in rapid succession with an extremely ingenious offensive encountering shrewd defence, and the game eventually drawn. The second week ended with both competitors lying equal.

As the seventh game began, one could sense the desire on the part of both contenders to unnerve each other. Karpov opened with several highly original moves, captured the initiative, and obtained a most advantageous position, which he could have easily strengthened on the King's flank. In that case Kasparov would have been hard put to repel white's mounting offensive. But Karpov sought to win in comfort and chose what he thought the easier alternative on the Queen's flank. Kasparov immediately responded with a brilliant move of his pawn, thus initiating a battle royal, aggravated by time limits on both sides.

After the 35th move the position on the board was as follows:



White had just moved his pawn against the black Bishop (35. f2-f4), but instead of pulling back, black made a spectacular move with his Rook, and after a series of exchanges the game was adjourned. It was not resumed till the next day with the unhappy Karpov obliged to agree to a draw.

Awareness of the time limits must have exhausted the powers of both Karpov and Kasparov. Even now when recalling the seventh game I feel a thrill. I suppose it would have been logical for both to have taken time out. However, Kasparov had done

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so already, while the ex-champion selfishly decided to retain this option for likely additional beneficial relaxation in Leningrad.

At any rate Karpov definitely bit off more than he could chew, when, playing black, he staked winning the next, the eighth, game. He began with a dramatic opening, manifestly to provoke an offensive from Kasparov. After a series of intricate moves with his Queen, he captured a pawn. Meanwhile, however, Kasparov had mounted a formidable offensive. With brilliant defensive moves Karpov evened out the position, only to overlook in the heat of the fray a fairly simple retaliatory move which lost him the game. The fantastic pressure under which Karpov laboured as a result of which he failed to make the required number of moves, within the specified time limit, is extremely rare in such prestigious tournaments. Undeniably, Karpov had only himself to blame for the defeat sustained. Had he taken time out he would not have overtaxed his tired brain. One must not forget either that Kasparov is 12 years his junior.

Though Karpov now took time out, he was already a point behind. The eighth game came as a warning bell for both contenders, and from now on they were most cautious. One felt in each of the games that followed that each was trying to counter the other's favourite gambits.

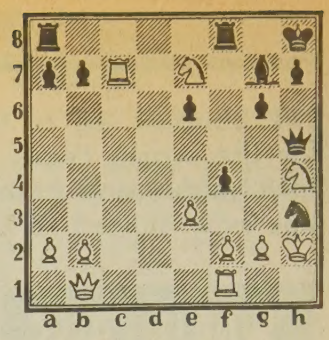
Yet at this juncture towards the end of the first month with about twelve games to go plus two options on time out for both, when it was clear that the scales had yet to tip decisively in either contender's favour, and each should husband his strength, chess fans were treated to what was probably the most thrilling game of the entire London half.

Inasmuch as this, 11th, game, is acknowledged the best of all twelve played in London, we cover it in full. It was extremely exciting throughout: the dramatic opening, white's sudden offensive, black's breathtaking counterattack, the spell-binding jousting of the Knights and the equally thrilling duel of the Queens. The draw ensued after a brilliantly played endgame.

And so, the 11th game, the Gruenfeld defence.

1. d4 Kt6 2. c4 g6 3. Ktc3 d5 4. Bf4 Bg7 5. e3 c5 6. dc Qa5 7. Rc1 dc 8. B:c4 0-0 9. Kt3 Q:c5 10. Bb3 Ktc6 11. 0-0 Qa5 12. h3 Bf5 13. Qe2 Kte4 14. Ktd5 e5 15. R:c6 ef 16. Rc7 Be6 17. Qe1 Qb5 18. Kte7+ Kh8 19. B:e6 fe 20. Qb1 Kg5 21. Kh4 K:h3+ 22. Kh2 Qh5.

Seen here is the position on the board after the 22nd move.



23. Kte:g6+ hg 24. Q:g6 Qe5 25. Rf7 R:f7 26. Q:f7 Kg5 27. Kg6+ Kh7 28. K:e5 K:f7 29. K:f7 Kg6 30. Kd6 fe 31. Kc4 ef 32. R:f2 b5 33. Ke3 a5 34. Kg3 a4 35. Rc2 Rf8 36. Kg4 Bd4 37. Re2 B:e3 38. R:e3 Rf2 39. b3 R:g2+ 40. Kf3 R:a2 41. ba. Draw.

I am absolutely sure that for years to come chess players around the world will never cease to analyze this thrilling game. Indeed, games of this order, in which grandmasters do not just seek the best move, but promote their own personal strategy, are always of keen interest, not only from the view of the game itself, but even more so from that of the psychological confrontation of the contenders.

Leningrad is now already witnessing the second half of the Kasparov-Karpov return match. Chess fans in London can follow the games at the Great Eastern Hotel, to which the moves will be transmitted as soon as they are made.

Lothar Schmid, the tournament's chief referee, had high praise for the organizers of the London half. Everything had been ideal, he said, apart from a few minor upsets; but these were efficiently tackled. Kasparov and Karpov had both played what he termed "fantastic chess."

London. International grandmaster Lothar Schmid gives the signal for another game.

Photo by Rodrigo Fernandez (APN)

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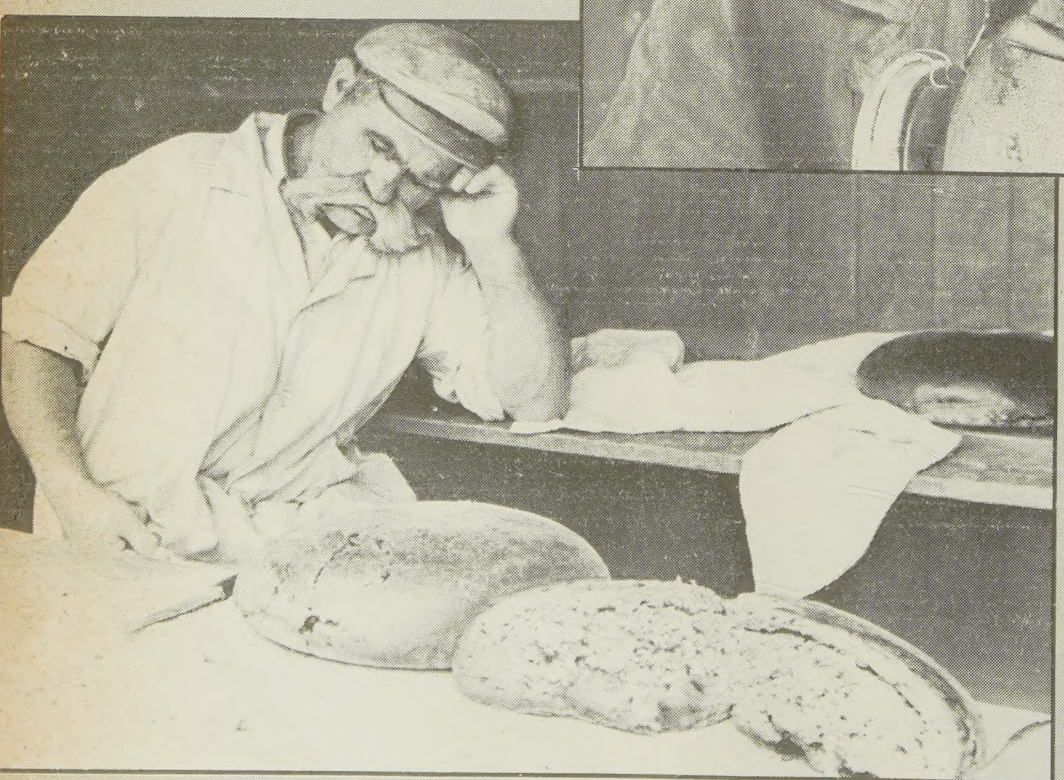

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